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RHETORIC AND ORATORY

BY

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PREFACE.

The aim of this book is to give the precepts for the building of a speech, and at the same time to place under the eye of both professor and student the speech built according to these precepts. Some works give the precepts alone, but not the complete illustrations, others supply the orations, but do not indicate how they were formed. They give neither the division of parts, nor the principles upon which to construct a discourse.

The precepts here given, although brief, are complete enough to direct the student how to apply them to the discourses placed before him. After a long experience as professor of Rhetoric in the Junior class, this is the method that has seemed the most satisfactory, and productive of the best results. In the first part will be found the general principles of Rhetoric; in the second the models for study. The third part comprises the application of the precepts to particular speeches, and the fourth contains a brief mention of the great orators.

"*Longum iter per precepta, breve per exempla.*" The road to learning by way of precepts is long — by example, short. This is the old maxim, and in conformity with the human mind.

The orator who rises to speak before an audience, should understand the intellectual relations between himself and his hearers. It is intellect speaking to in-

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tellect, — will appealing to will, and his whole individuality and personality wielding an influence over the minds, the impulses and the actions of his auditors. The intellect must present truth to the hearers, and this is done by proving the statement or proposition to be true. This truth must be proposed as a good, and this is done by moving the will to see the truth as a good, and the will, thus aroused by appeals to the feelings, accepts that truth as a good. The truth being recognized as not only true, but also good, the next step is the action to which the good and the true invite. This is conviction, — proving the truth to the intellect. But moving, or presenting the truth as a good to the will, and impelling it to act according to the truth presented as a good — is persuasion.

The object of the orator is persuasion, or to get the audience to act according to the ideas presented. This is done by the proposition, the argument, and the appeal to the feelings. The art of Rhetoric, it may be said, as distinct from study of style, is the intelligent and scientific method of training the mind in the best way to build up a speech, in accordance with the character of the human mind, in which the intellect follows the light of truth, and the will seeks for truth as a good, and acts in harmony with the persuasiveness exerted.

The following precepts point out this intellectual method of the study of Rhetoric, and the examples from the great orators of the English language furnish the best models for study. These speeches give separately the exordiums, simple, insinuating, abrupt, grand; plain narration, descriptive oratorical narration, the argumentation, confirmation, refutation, and the peroration.

These may be studied first, in parts; then, as a united whole. They should be imitated, analyzed, synopsized. The method may be applied to different subjects, or the same subject may be taken and the whole speech be re-written. These will be found to be excellent exercises.

The principles laid down here are those taught by the masters of Oratory. Demosthenes was the greatest orator that has ever lived. No man ever wrote more fully upon the art of Rhetoric than Cicero, and no man ever supplied, as specimens of the application of the principles of his art, more masterly orations, than he has done. Such a man should be qualified as a master of Rhetoric.

To Cicero then, as to Demosthenes, to Aristotle, Quintilian, Longinus, Hermogenes, to Blair, who has been superseded by Whately, Bain, Genung, as well as to Du Cygne, S.J., Kleutgen, S.J., Broeckaert, S.J., J. Cunningham, S.J., Coppens, S.J., Doyle, O.S.B., Bautain, Barry, Sears and Townsend, the writer has referred for the elucidation of some points, as well as to the excellent lectures on Rhetoric by John Quincy Adams. At other times he has chosen the method of presenting ideas, which by experience, he has found most practical, and best suited to the grasp of the developing mind of the young student.

The plan of the work has met the approval of experienced professors of Rhetoric, and is given forth in answer to the demand for a single volume that would, in the Rhetoric or Junior class, supply to professor and student alike, the precepts of the art, and the illustrations which show the principles carried into execution.

Not only to the college student but to the student of law, and to any one called upon, in public life, to make a speech before his fellow men, the present volume may be of some help.

With the not unfounded hope that professors and students may find their work simplified and the need of ponderous volumes limited, this little book is issued.

The suggestion has been acted upon of supplying the synopses of one or two orations, and a short sketch of the life and best works of a few of the greater orators. To do more than this would increase too greatly the size of the book, and the student who has mastered the principles herein given, and studied thoroughly these features, will be fairly prepared to write an excellent and orderly speech of his own, and to make an analysis of other speeches, without further aid than his own proficiency.

J. F. X. O'CONOR, S.J.

A. M. D. G.

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE, N. Y.

February, 1898.

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PART I.

RHETORIC AND ORATORY.

Rhetoric, as distinct from the study of style, is the art of persuasion. It teaches how to form a speech so as to induce others, not only to think as we wish them to think, but to induce them to act as we wish them to act.

A. The end of Rhetoric, therefore, is persuasion. This is obtained by (*a*) conviction, (*b*) moving the feelings.

Conviction is convincing the intellect of a truth by means of an argument.

An *argument* is a reason brought forward to show the truth of our proposition or statement.

Persuasion is the movement of the will which consents to accept as good the truth presented, and to act in accordance with that consent.

B. The means made use of in Rhetoric are: —

(*a*) *Precepts.* Rules to be followed. Not arbitrary rules, but based upon those speeches of orators that are best suited to produce the effect desired.

(*b*) *The reading of the best authors* and by making analyses of their speeches: —

(1) A *Logical Analysis.* The order of the ideas.

(2) A *Rhetorical Analysis.* The method of arranging the arguments.

(3) A *Literary Analysis.* The diction in which the ideas and arguments are clothed.

(*c*) *Practice in Writing.*

(1) Translation from Cicero and Demosthenes into English. From English in one form of phrase to English in another.

(*a*) *Translation.* In translation, observe the grammatical structure, the meaning of words, the various values of synonyms, the shades of thought, the significance of epithets, the accumulation of phrases of similar forms.

Study the nature of the language. The niceties of style, poetic figures, vivid word painting, forcible turns of thought.

(2) *Exercise.* By composing speeches. First in their single parts separately, as the developing of one argument, or the finding of an argument from a special topic or source, such as definition. Secondly, in their completeness, with exordium, argumentation and peroration, briefly, it may be, but completely. Then let the speeches be longer.

(*a*) *Practice.* Reading and cogent thought.

Read, and ask yourself the idea contained in a whole page. Take each sentence and each phrase, and inquire what each sentence or phrase adds to the main idea. Is it entirely new, or simply enforcing the idea given, presenting it in a new form, allowing it to be seen in a different aspect? Condense mentally the whole speech into a syllogism. Then examine where the major proposition ends, how it is formed or developed, the circumstance adduced to enforce it; where the minor proposition is introduced and how it is amplified, developed and enforced. As every speech, book, page, may

be condensed to a syllogism, state where the introduction ends and precedes the syllogism, and where the peroration is added to the concluding remark of the orator's syllogism.

The exercise in writing should be careful but frequent, and great care should be taken in regard to the correction, as this is of the greatest importance.

A written exercise uncorrected, helps but little towards one's progress. In the correction notice where the argument is faulty, where the expression is lacking in force, strength, exactness or elegance.

THE OBJECT OF RHETORIC.

Rhetoric or Eloquence as stated above, is the art of speaking suitably to persuade.

To persuade is not only to prove the truth clearly but also to bend the wills of the hearers to the will of the orator. The value of eloquence is shown by what it is able to effect.

The whole force of speaking rests upon three things: — proving that what we state is true, conciliating those who listen to us, and winning their hearts by whatever emotion our case demands. Persuasion, then, is the object of eloquence. It is reached by teaching, by influencing the will, and by pleasing our hearers.

To do this three things are required: natural qualification, training in the principles of the art, and practice.

Among the many natural gifts the most important is a certain greatness of soul, — it may be called sympathy, magnetic influence, a power of thrilling and carrying the auditor on the wings of thought. "*Pectus est, quod*

disertos facit" — "It is inspiration of feeling that makes the really eloquent orator."

In order to succeed, the orator must be, in the minds of his hearers, an honest man; he must be filled with learning and have a profound knowledge of human nature.

He should be honest, in order to avoid making a wrong use of eloquence, for as Cicero says, "unless he be so, he will never develop into an orator."

In oratory, a man should know the means used in oratory to detect abuse, and at the same time should have skill in the use of the weapons of the enemy, for at times, this may be useful.

Knowledge of human nature is required, as without it, a man not knowing life or the emotions of the heart or how they are affected, will never be able to accomplish any great results.

Learning is obviously necessary, for the orator should draw from a varied storehouse of wisdom. It requires no slight preparation for a man to rise before his fellowmen, and claim that he has a right to be listened to; and it is a grave responsibility to feel that one is moulding the thoughts and bending the wills of a thousand listeners.

Oratory was divided, by Aristotle, into three distinct classes: —

The Demonstrative Style, — which is given to blame or to praise a particular person. This is the style of funeral orations, anniversaries of great events or of festivals, etc. Pulpit oratory belongs to this class.

The Deliberative Style, — this is the style of assemblies, concerned with advantage or disadvantage, the making or discussing of laws, the performance of great events, declaration of war, regulation of tariff, etc.

The Judicial Style, — this is the style of court trials, the object being acquittal or condemnation, by accusation or defence.

THE PARTS OF RHETORIC.

Rhetoric may be divided into five parts: Invention, Disposition, Elocution, Memory and Delivery.

We shall confine ourselves chiefly to Invention and Disposition. Elocution, or style, is supposed to have been attended to previously, and the work of learning and delivering the speech, belongs to practical eloquence.

INVENTION.

By Invention is meant the finding of arguments suitable to persuasion. But before looking for arguments there are certain things which must be fixed clearly in mind and pondered seriously.

These are, with regard to a speech, the Subject Matter, the Question, the Object, the State of the Question, and the Proposition.

The Subject Matter is that to which the orator directs his attention as worthy of being spoken of, e.g., "The War with England," "The Study of Philosophy." An orator who contemplates writing a speech, should take one subject, of an important nature; make it very definite and suitable to the age, condition, sex and aptitude of the hearers as well as of the speaker, and suitable to the circumstances of time and place.

The Subject Matter.

Having determined the subject matter, the next step is to fix upon what shall be the particular discussion in that matter. Suppose the subject matter is "War with England." The particular view may be "Should we wage war with England?"

The Question.

or "Was the war of the colonies with England a just war?"

The Question may be either unlimited, as for instance: "Is war with England desirable?" or limited, as "What should have been done to avoid the war of 1812?"

The Object is what the orator wishes to obtain. He must place before his mind a definite and particular object and keep it constantly there throughout his oration. A man is beating the air, firing random shots, who does not keep in view the end for which he is speaking. In a court trial it may be the acquittal of a prisoner; in Deliberative oratory, the passage of a bill; in Demonstrative, the stimulation of the hearers to some deed of heroism.

The Object of the Speech.

The State of the Question is the precise view the orator wishes the hearers to take, in regard to the subject matter under discussion.

In the speech of Cicero for Milo, the State of the Question is "Which plotted against the other, Clodius or Milo." The subject matter is "The killing of Clodius." The question would be "Could one man ever justly kill another?" The limited question "Could Milo have killed Clodius justly?"

The State of the Question.

The Proposition is a statement, of the truth of which the orator undertakes to persuade his audience. It is usually a statement in which something is affirmed, or denied: e. g. "Peace with Europe is a blessing," "The Civil War ought not to be renewed."

The Proposition.

Sometimes it merely circumscribes a subject, "I shall explain the advantage of electricity as a motive power."

In the speech of Cicero for Milo: —

The Subject Matter is: "The killing of Clodius."

The Question is: "Could Clodius be justly killed?"

The Indefinite Question is: "Could one private citizen lawfully kill another?"

The End is: "To acquit Milo."

The State of the Question is: "Which plotted against the other?"

The Proposition is: "Milo killed Clodius justly."

As the Proposition contains the whole oration, it is of the greatest importance that it should be a good one. The Proposition is good if it is one, definite, important and apt. A Proposition is one, either if it has no parts, or if they are naturally joined together.

A Proposition may be compound, but not multiple.

It would be compound if one were to say "The war is difficult and Sheridan is the man for general."

It would be multiple if it were said that "Astronomy is a useful study, and I will show you how to train horses."

When it is said that a Proposition should be definite, it is not supposed that it cannot be general, but it ought not to be vague. It is vague when it indicates only a broad subject and in no wise limits it, as, for example, "I am going to speak about wisdom and Christianity," for each of these can be made definite by inquiring how it is acquired, or its advantage to the individual or to the human race. It is well even to make a general proposition restricted to some apt and suitable form.

A Proposition is called important, which deserves the attention of both orator and hearers. The importance depends not so much on the subject matter as upon the state of the question. In this there should be novelty, and room for discussion. It need not be recondite

or paradoxical, but such that from the whole body of the speech there may be derived novelty, beauty and utility.

A Proposition is apt when it is suited to the age, condition, powers, learning and appearance of the speaker; to the age, sex, condition and capacity of the hearers; to the circumstances of time and place.

THE FINDING OF ARGUMENTS.

An Argument is a reason suitable to persuade. Arguments are divided into three classes: (1) from their tendency, into proving, illustrating and moving; (2) from their value, into certain and probable; (3) from their origin, intrinsic and extrinsic.

A proving argument is that which strengthens what is doubtful by means of what is not doubtful.

An illustrating argument is one that is neither a proof, nor a movement of the feelings, but one that is suitable to conciliate and to please.

A moving argument is that which stirs up the soul. Often it is the treatment, and not the nature of the argument itself, that makes this distinction in the effect.

A certain argument points to what is always the case without exception: "Smoke indicates the presence of fire."

A probable argument is one that shows what usually happens: "Young men are inclined to lightheartedness."

Intrinsic arguments are drawn from the very nature of the thing, of which there is question: "Eloquence is to be mastered, because it is a powerful means of good."

Extrinsic argument is used when we call upon the authority of able men to corroborate our statements, — thus "Aristotle and Cicero say that eloquence should

be mastered because of its power." There the reason is not in eloquence itself, but extraneous to it.

What must the orator do, therefore, in order to find arguments? The answer is, that he should understand thoroughly and fully his subject, — and although it ought not to seem necessary to insist upon this, it is the precise point that is neglected.

When one understands the matter thoroughly it should be looked at from three points of view: (1) as you would look at it, (2) as the judge does, (3) as your opponent will.

First weigh whatever is a help to you, then what is an obstacle or may be injurious, then put yourself in the position of the auditor and imagine that you are listening to everything that you have thought out.

THE TOPICS.

The Topics, *loci*, or commonplaces, as they are called are sources from which an orator may draw arguments. They are not arguments, but an aid to the young orator in finding them. They are certain headings, and every speech or subject or idea must fall under one or other of these classifications. No speech can be written or spoken without them, although explicit advertence or conscious attention need not necessarily be given to them.

The Topics are either intrinsic or extrinsic.

Intrinsic — in the bosom of the subject.

Extrinsic — extraneous to the subject itself.

The intrinsic are, Definition, Enumeration and Notation, Genus and Species, Antecedent and Consequent, Circumstances, Cause and Effect, Contraries, Similitude and Comparison.

Definition explains the nature of an object. To be accurate it should be made by means of genus and species: "Man is a reasoning animal."

Definition.

Definition is made by indicating the parts, the contrary, the effects, or by description. "Rhetoric is the art of finding, arranging and delivering arguments suited to conviction and persuasion."

The use of definition is manifold, sometimes it may be necessary, again it will be useful either for forming an argument or for moving the feelings.

In controversy it is necessary in order to make clear the point under discussion.

In order to teach, the first kind of definition is useful; in order to move the feelings, the other kinds are more suitable. The definition should always be clearer than the thing to be defined, and the exact value of the words used should be carefully considered.

Enumeration consists in separating a subject into its constituent parts. "If a candidate were really unpopular he would not be supported by any party": the various parties are mentioned and the reason given for each. If we deny the parts, we deny the whole; if we affirm the parts we affirm the whole, e.g., "Pompey had all the four qualities that make a general": military skill, valor, authority, success.

Enumeration.

Notation or etymology is an argument drawn from the significance of a word: e.g., "A counsellor is one who gives wise counsel." Hence it may be an argument for or against an individual.

Notation.

Conjugates are those words which have a common origin: e.g., "A wise man is one who wisely utters wisdom." "A fool is he who speaketh folly."

A *cause* is that by which anything is made: a wound is the cause of death.

Cause and Effect.

There are four causes: —

Efficient cause, that by which something is made; e.g., a manufacturer of bicycles.

Final cause, the object for which a thing is made; e.g., to ride.

Material cause, the material from which it is made; e.g., steel, wood, rubber.

The formal cause, that which makes it what it is, as distinct from every other object; e. g., two-wheeled, easy, rapid, pleasant riding, pedal motive-power.

Circumstances, are all those things that surround a thing and cling to it.

(1) In Persons concerning whom anything is done, consider the race, nation, country, age, sex, education, personal appearance, fortune, condition, talent, morals, virtues, pursuits, relations, friends.

Circumstances.

(2) In Things, what happened before, simultaneously with, after; how was it done, with skill or by force, modestly or in pride, gently or harshly.

(3) In Time, past, present or future. The adjuncts or circumstances may be remembered by recalling the series: Who, what, where, through whom, how often, why, in what way, when.

Apply to war, death, the nativity of Christ.

The argument from circumstances usually gives probability, sometimes certainty. Judgment should be used in the selection of the circumstances employed.

We argue from the topic, *Genus and Species*, by negation and affirmation. If a quality is necessary to

the genus it may be affirmed of the species and of the individual. If it is repugnant to the genus it may be denied of the species and individual; e.g., "The liberal arts are honorable, therefore the study of poetry is honorable." **Genus and Species.**

Care should be taken in arguing from species to genus, as it is not always useful or prudent to pass from the particular to the general. If the avarice of a particular man is in question, it would not be effective to make the whole argument consist of a treatise in general on the love of riches.

We can argue, however, that when there is a species, there must be a genus, or what is said of the genus must exist in the species. "There is justice in this case, therefore, it is not foreign to virtue."

It requires careful consideration to distinguish between cause and effect and *antecedent* and *consequent.* Consequent follows antecedent, but it is not always, *post hoc, ergo propter hoc.* But in cause and effect, the effect is always after the cause, and by reason of the cause. **Antecedent and Consequent.**

A man is walking along the street, and a dog is walking behind him. The man is antecedent and the dog consequent.

If the dog is running and the man chasing him, the dog is antecedent, and yet the running of the dog is the effect, and the man is the cause of this effect.

Comparison is an argument deduced from something which is either more, less, or equally probable. There are three kinds, from greater to less, less to greater, or a comparison between equals. For instance, the argument from greater is as follows: **Comparison.**

"If what is more probable is not true, what is less probable is certainly not true."

The argument from less is made in this manner: "As this, which is less probable, is true, surely that, which is more probable, seems true."

Comparison between equals is made when from something which is not more probable and yet is nevertheless true, we conclude that the other which is not less probable must be granted as true.

The genius of Virgil is no more like that of Homer, than Napoleon's marble statue is Napoleon.

Similitude.

From *similitude* we argue in two ways, (1) what is true in one case is also true in a like case, or (2) from one thing we derive light in regard to another.

The difference between similitude and comparison is this: similitude refers to quality, comparison to probability.

An anecdote or story has great force, as a kind of similitude, in moving the hearers, especially the uncultivated. Humor and witticism at times may be used with great effect. O'Connell and Curran took advantage of this truth on many important occasions.

Contraries.

Contraries are those things which cannot exist together at the same time, as life and death; love and hate. The argument is constructed thus: If we affirm one we must deny the other, or denying one we must affirm the contrary, or from one thing find what is its contrary.

The first style is possible for all contraries. As "John loved his father, therefore he did not kill him."

The other form cannot always be used, for there are

some contraries, both of which cannot be true at the same time; but both can be false. "Paul did not kill his father, therefore he loved him."

The third form should rather be called dissimilitude. We use it when we argue that contrary causes produce contrary effects, etc. Or we may deny that the same thing is becoming in different men. "If it is barbarous to live for time only, we ought to live for what is beyond it."

The common extrinsic Topics are Testimony and Example: in sacred eloquence, Scripture and the authority of the fathers; in civil eloquence, the laws, witnesses, documents. **The Extrinsic Topics.**

Testimony is the statement of men who by their authority move to assent.

There are two kinds of authority, human and divine; divine, the Scriptures; human, that which rests on the authority of illustrious men, or upon common sense.

The authority brought forward should be held in esteem by those to whom we bring it as an appeal, and therefore if not known, should be fully introduced as to its value.

Common sense includes the judgments upon which, as a rule, men really agree. They rest not only upon the authority of men, but upon nature herself. Proverbs and axioms come under this class, and are valuable aids to persuasion.

Example is defined as the recalling of a deed useful for persuasion. Examples are like similitude and comparison, and have the same persuasive power. Examples are listened to with pleasure, and give to the speaker authority and confidence. **Examples.**

An example may be a comparison of greater, less or equal, or opposite.

The Use of Topics.

As a somewhat confused idea often remains in the student's mind as to what the value of the topics may be, I cannot do better here than quote the lucid explanation of John Quincy Adams: —

"The rhetorical topics or common places, are the general incidents or circumstances, belonging alike to every subject, and distributed under a certain number of heads, to facilitate the invention of public speakers. The topics were divided into two general classes, internal and external. The internal topics arise from the bosom of the subject itself. External topics arise from any other source without the subject but made applicable to it."

It will readily be conceived what infinite variety of matter they present to the use of the orator. If mere authority were to decide the question, the writers of later ages must excuse us for receiving with great caution any principle in the theory of the science, directly opposed to the opinions and practice of Cicero. But considering the topics on their own merits, they are not deemed to be altogether without their use. Although telling us where to look for an argument does not furnish us with the argument itself, yet, it may suggest the train of thought, and add facility to the copious view of the orator. This is all the benefit that can be derived, or that probably it was ever supposed could be derived, from a thorough knowledge of the topics.

They cannot give, but they may assist invention. They exhibit the subject in all its attitudes and under every diversity of light and shade. A perfect master

of the topics may be a miserable orator; but an accomplished orator will not disdain a thorough knowledge of the topics. — *J. Q. Adams, Lectures on Rhetoric.*

DISPOSITION.

The Topics help the orator to find the materials for his speech. Disposition is the orderly distribution of the things found. Disposition may be natural, — that is, following the order of the causes; or artificial, — that is, arranged according to the judgment and design of the orator.

The natural disposition or arrangement consists in this, that every speech may be divided into three parts: exordium, confirmation and peroration.

Nature herself dictates that when we are about to speak we should introduce the subject, then explain it, prove the truth and refute the contrary, and then draw our discourse to a close by a peroration.

Some add to the foregoing, a proposition, division, refutation, and even a digression. But all these are not necessary in every kind of speech.

The absolutely necessary parts are the exordium, argumentation and the peroration.

THE EXORDIUM.

The *exordium* is the first part of the oration, which prepares the hearers for the rest of the speech. We may consider the functions of the exordium, the different kinds, the sources, the qualities, and the defects. The exordium prepares the hearers by making them attentive, well-disposed and submissive. This is necessary throughout, but especially so in the beginning.

The function of the exordium is to gain the good will of the hearer toward the speaker.

The orator will gain their regard for himself, if he shows that he is defending an honorable case, and if his manner of speaking manifests candor, trustworthiness, modesty, uprightness and a kindly spirit.

An orator may sometimes recall the reasons why he should be listened to on his merits, when the case requires it, as Demosthenes and Cicero have done, but in moderation and not with arrogance. The orator gains the good will of the audience if he shows that he esteems them, or gives them modest praise. Especially if he is about to blame them, he must beware of seeming to undervalue his hearers.

He gains the good will in favor of the person for whom he speaks, by commending his virtues and merits, and by deploring his misfortune.

He gains their good will in relation to the adversaries by reprehending their vices, or extolling their grace and eloquence. To gain attention he should show that he is speaking of great things, or of necessary things, or of things of interest to his hearers. Do not easily promise great things, but if they are great, let it be shown. If the question be unimportant or not of great weight, indicate that necessity alone brings it forward.

It will aid not a little if the orator promises to be brief and clear, if he modestly begs the attention of his hearers, but especially if he rouses attention by his very manner of speaking. Try to present the case so that the hearer will easily grasp the subject without being confused, by taxing his memory as little as possible, and by letting him understand the whole case clearly.

The Kinds of Exordium.

There are two kinds of exordium: simple and abrupt.

The simple may be divided into insinuating and grand.

The simple exordium calmly prepares the hearers for what is to follow.

The insinuating, as the name implies, makes use of an indirect beginning, because the direct would be displeasing and at the outset not acceptable. When the minds of the hearers are sufficiently prepared, the subject may then be made much more distinct.

The grand exordium is more solemn in its diction and in its method of introduction.

The abrupt exordium is when the orator suddenly and unexpectedly bursts forth with some intense emotion. It is made use of where great indignation is to be expressed, or great joy, or where there is a sudden and important change of circumstances.

The use of this kind of exordium should not be very frequent. It is well to be mindful of dignity and wisdom in the very language employed. Let the orator not pass too suddenly to the proof of his oration, nor let him dwell too long on the sentiments expressed in the abrupt exordium. Examples of these exordiums are found in Part Second.

The Sources of the Exordium.

The exordium may be formed upon the very arguments of the speech, or upon the circumstances. Sometimes a mere explanation of the subject may constitute the exordium, and again an example, or illustration or story, may be taken with great effect as the matter of the exordium.

The exordium taken from the arguments may bring in those which are most suited to move the feelings. It is not necessary to explain them fully, but simply to lay the foundation for the rest of the speech.

The circumstances of the time and place and persons, form a very apt matter for the exordium, and were much used by Cicero.

In the deliberative style of oratory, and when the audience is well disposed and attentive, the exordium of simple exposition of the case is used.

Illustrations, such as examples, proverbs, similitudes, parables, and subjects of a like nature, are extremely useful in pleasing an audience in the beginning of a speech, as a part of the exordium. Great care should be taken that they be concise and to the point.

The Qualities of the Exordium.

An exordium should have the qualities of propriety, care, modesty and brevity.

Propriety means that it should naturally arise from the subject, and suit that subject, and no other.

The faults of an exordium are these: if it is universal, common, applicable to other speeches, and disjointed.

Universality means that the exordium is so general as to apply to any speech whatsoever.

Common, is one that the adversary could use just as well as the orator.

Commutable would be an exordium which, with a slight change, could be used by the opponents.

Disjointed, is one that does not coincide with the case. The exordium is not like a musical prelude, but should respond to every member of the body of the speech.

The care should be manifested in the words and sentences: well chosen and expressed with grace. Two things, however, are to be avoided: the too bold use of ornament, and the too evident intrusion of art.

Modesty consists in this, that the orator should appear rather diffident than too self-reliant. To appear too self-reliant is akin to arrogance, which antagonizes the hearer. A moderate fear indicates a certain becoming modesty in the speaker, which, even in a case that is not doubtful, should appear in the words, bearing, voice and countenance of the speaker.

Concerning the brevity of the exordium, it may be said that the usual error is to make the exordium too long. As in a building the entrance is in proportion to the edifice, so with the exordium, let it be suitable in length to the gravity and importance and length of the oration.

Finally, this wise advice should be heeded: only when the whole case has been weighed and thoroughly understood, when all the topics are chosen and arranged, should it be considered what beginning or exordium is to be made. "What I am to say first, I am to prepare last," says Antony, "for if I were to write the exordium before my speech is ready, it would be meaningless and trifling, general, and quite as suitable to any other speech as to the one which I am giving."

NARRATION.

It is quite natural when the minds of the hearers are prepared by the exordium, to indicate what is to follow, and the nature of the case that is embodied in the arguments. This is what is called the narration.

It is, as Cicero says, an explanation, and a foundation for the confidence of the auditors. There are two kinds of narration. The first is either a recounting of the fact with which the speech is concerned, or any explanation of those things that will make clear the state of the question. In using narration it should of course be directed to persuasion, and this is reached, even in this part of the speech, by teaching and instructing, as well as by conciliating and moving. That the narration may really instruct, it should be clear, brief and probable. These qualities are more important in the beginning than at any other time, because, if the hearer does not understand or remember, or believe what you are talking about, the rest is vain and useless labor. The narration should be adapted to the rest of the speech, so it is well to show clearly what is in favor of the case, but not by pursuing contrasts too closely, and finally to foreshadow the arguments, but remember that the narration is not a proof. This is admirably done in the narration Cicero makes in the case of Milo, by describing the unprepared position of his client, and the well-equipped condition of his adversary.

When should the narration be omitted? In the judicial style of oratory, the narration is to be omitted when the judge not only knows the fact, but looks upon it from the same point of view as the speaker.

In the deliberative style, narration is rare, but exposition of the case should be frequent.

In sacred oratory the place of narration is taken by a parable or selection from Scripture, or by an explanation of doctrine whether of dogma or moral.

THE PROPOSITION.

The Proposition, as was indicated above, is what the orator undertakes to prove to his audience. Here the question is asked, should there always be a proposition and how should it be made known?

The proposition should be stated, whenever the subject is unknown, and in brief, well-chosen words, and with the utmost simplicity.

When it runs counter to the prejudices of the listeners, it must never be given forth; still it must always be uppermost in the mind of the orator.

THE DIVISION.

The rules to be followed in a division are the following: —

(1) Where several things are laid down about the same matter, let there be a connection between them.

(2) In one part there should be a general proposition, in the other, the accessories.

(3) In the first part, indicate a precept; in the second, deduce a rule of conduct.

(4) In one part, show what is to be done; in the other, how to do it.

Qualities of the Division. — It should be,

(1) Clear, simple, natural, not ostentatious.

(2) Distinct, well defined, and with parts not running into one another and not alike.

(3) Suitable to the style of the speech. See if the arrangement is pleasing, if the subject rise to great importance. Consider whether it be adapted to the ora-

tor's purpose; or if it bring into relief what he seeks to effect.

An abrupt division should never be employed.

The division must not be made known: (1) If the proposition is hard to believe; (2) If the different parts appear to be useless; (3) If, by the division, we keep the audience in suspense, etc.

Observe: —

(1) Where the custom of announcing the division is prevalent.

(2) The orator can wisely avoid obstacles, if the proposition is hard, by declaring it obscure and not sufficiently definite.

(3) Those subdivisions which come naturally, should not be rejected; but divisions minute and similar should be avoided.

CONFIRMATION OR PROOF.

The Confirmation is that part of the speech that treats of the arguments. It is the chief part of the speech, and here lies all hope of victory, all reason for persuasion.

First comes the question, in what order should the arguments be placed; then, how should they be treated?

In the order of arguments always observe this rule. Place strong arguments at the beginning and at the end. This is imperative, that the orator satisfy the expectation of the auditor in the beginning, otherwise his labor will be increased. That is a bad case, indeed, which from the very beginning does not begin to appear better. But as the latter part is important, there, also, must be placed arguments that have great force and power. There are three ways of placing the arguments that are effective, as follows: —

Strong, stronger, strongest.
Strongest, stronger, strong.
Strongest, strong, stronger.

There is no good place for weak arguments. A whole speech may be marred by using one weak argument which might as well have been omitted. It only gives a mark for attack.

The effectiveness of the arguments often may depend upon the state of the question, the good will of the hearers, their rank, wealth, the talent, age and power of the orator, as well as upon the circumstances of time and place. For this reason it is well to note the difference between the logical and the oratorical order.

The logical order follows the facts of nature, the oratorical arranges them in the way best suited to the actual case.

Confirmation is Indirect or Direct.

Indirect Confirmation.

I. Confirmation is indirect, if instead of bringing forward positive arguments to establish the proposition it is shown that the contrary, or any other view of the question, is untenable and absurd. Suppose the proposition to be — "Man's will is free." If you could not bring any argument to prove it directly, then you may argue thus: Man's will is either free or not free; no other supposition is possible. Let us suppose it is not free; then man is not master of his actions, is not accountable; hence it is useless to make laws, it is cruel to punish him, government is without any purpose, society is impossible, etc. But this is absurd; therefore, it is absurd to say that man's will is not free.

Again, the line *A* is either equal to *B*, or greater, or less than *B*. But it is neither greater than it, nor less, therefore, it is equal to it.

Erskine for the defense in a libel case, argues: "Either the book is a libel, or it is not; if it is a libel, then the brightest pages of English literature are seditious libels, the Bill of Rights is a libel, the government of England is a traitorous conspiracy, and our gracious sovereign a usurper. But to say so is absurd. Therefore, to call the book a libel is absurd."

Whately, in his "Historic Doubts concerning Napoleon Bonaparte," shows that the method of reasoning of Hume, who denies that Christ ever existed, is absurd, for it is found then, by the same method, that we can prove that Napoleon never existed. See also Burke's "Defence of Natural Society, by a Noble Lord."

Rule. See that you enumerate all the possible alternatives, and that you prove all absurd but the one you uphold.

Under indirect confirmation comes the dilemma, in which the adversary is forced to choose one or other of two or more alternatives, each of which you can show to be absurd, as in the famous argument against Pyrrha, who held that there is no truth.

"Either what you say is true or false (in either case your theory is false). If it be true, then it is false to say there is no truth, for at least your theory is true. If it be false, then too it is false that there is no truth, for at least it is true that your theory is false."

Rule. Let the enumeration of alternatives be complete. Take care that your dilemma cannot be retorted, as in the following: Protagoras had taught Eualthus

rhetoric. He was to be paid one-half in advance, and the other half when Eualthus should gain his first case. But Protagoras was impatient, and could not wait till Eualthus began his practice. So he sued him, and made the argument: "If I win the case, you shall pay me by the decrees of the court; if you win, you must pay me according to the terms of our agreement." Eualthus answered: "If I win, I shall not pay you, according to the decree of the court. If you win, I shall not pay you according to the terms of our agreement."

Note 1. This method of confirmation (i.e. indirect) is demonstrative, or probable, or sophistical, according as you have proved the absurdity of your adversary's proposition, demonstratively, probably, or apparently.

Note 2. Under this head come other so-called arguments which, though common enough, are not in any strict sense proofs or arguments.

(*a*) The argument *ad hominem:* When, instead of proving the absurdity of your adversary's position, you show that it is in contradiction with other principles he holds, with his life, etc. The man to whom the expression, "Satan reproving sin" applies, is open to this kind of argument. "According to you," said some German students to their professor of philosophy, "nothing exists. Why then do you punish us for throwing stones at you."

(*b*) Argument *ad verecundiam:* Appeal to common sense, generosity, etc., of hearers; to national traditions, example of our forefathers, etc.; common in Cicero; also in Pitt; see Webster's "Presidential Protest."

(*c*) Argument *ad invidiam:* Appeal to popular passion and prejudice, e.g., "the bloody shirt."

(*d*) Ridicule, satire, etc., occasionally a most effective instrument.

Direct Confirmation.

Direct confirmation consists in showing direct, positive reason why the predicate should be affirmed or denied of the subject. Direct confirmation may be (1) *A priori*, i.e., from cause to effect (cause in a broad sense). (2) *A posteriori*, i.e., from effect to cause. (3) Induction. (4) Example. (5) Analogy. (6) Testimony.

I. An *a priori* argument shows that the subject, from its own nature or from antecedent considerations, requires that such and such a predicate should be affirmed or denied of it: e.g., the human soul being spiritual, requires the predicate immortal. God will pardon the repenting sinner: considering God's goodness, mercy, love of man, incarnation and death of our Lord, etc. Bacon was not the author of Shakespeare's plays: considering Bacon's character and style, his position, his occupation, etc. Jones probably murdered Brown: considering the antecedent circumstances: he had everything to gain by Brown's death; everything to lose by his living. He was reckless and unscrupulous. The day before the murder he bought a revolver, etc., and was remarked to be unusually excited. He can give no satisfactory account of his whereabouts at the time of the murder, etc.

The principle of the argument may be thus stated: So far as any cause has a tendency to produce a certain effect, so far as any antecedent circumstances require certain subsequents, so far, the existence of such a cause or such antecedent circumstances is an argument for the existence of the effects or the consequents.

The argument may be reduced to other formulæ:—

(1) A subject possessing such and such qualities or attributes, necessarily or probably, required that such and such a predicate should be affirmed or denied of it. But this subject possesses these qualities, etc., therefore, etc.

(2) Such and such causes will necessarily or probably produce such and such effects. But in this instance such and such causes exist. Therefore, etc.

(3) Such and such antecedent circumstances necessarily or probably are followed by such and such consequents. But such and such antecedent circumstances are proved to exist. Therefore, etc.

Rule: Prove (1) Existence of the causes, etc., assigned; (2) Their sufficiency to produce or account for the effects, etc. (3) The absence of hindrances to their operation.

See Newman's "Apologia," pp. 268-74; "Essay on Miracles," Chapter 1; Burke, passage quoted above, "Causes." Cicero's "Manilian Law": The command should be entrusted to Pompey because, having all the qualities of a great general, he will therefore succeed.

II. An *a posteriori* argument from effect to cause, from consequences to antecedent circumstances: e.g., God's love of man is beyond conception, since He suffered and died for our sake. The Middle Age was not a Dark Age, for it produced great men, built universities, etc. Some human being had been on the island for human foot-prints were found there. Jones was found to have a revolver lately discharged; the bullet found in Brown's body exactly fitted the revolver. Jones had all the appearance of having been in a scuffle.

His statements to different persons were contradictory. For several days after the murder he was in a state of nervous excitement. He seemed to be afraid to look one straight in the face, etc. These effects must have a cause. The only assignable cause is that he murdered Brown.

The principle of the argument may be thus stated: So far as any effect requires a certain cause; so far as any consequences require certain antecedent circumstances, conditions, etc., so far the existence of such effects or such consequences is an argument for the existence of such a cause or such antecedent circumstances.

The Method of Handling Arguments.

In every treatment of arguments the orator must bear in mind the following points: —

Three kinds of arguments are effective in Persuasion: (1) Those that teach, or proving arguments, (2) Those that gain attention by conciliation, (3) Those that rouse the soul, by amplification, appeal, etc.

From these three modes, the orator will choose the most effective, according as by his speech he wishes to instruct, or soothe, or arouse. This he will do in the finding and the arrangement of his arguments, and particularly in their presentation. To teach is the most important; the object of conciliating or exciting is to move them powerfully by the speech. In sacred eloquence, it is often necessary to employ the three, that is, to instruct, attract and move. In the actual case avoid what is evil, seek what is good. The weightiest arguments should be pressed home. The less strong should be placed together.

Not everything which the orator sets forth must be done in a studied manner, but only what he thinks may be doubtful or obscure to his hearers. It is as foolish to argue about what is evident, as to place a candle alongside of the sun.

In a speech, naked, bald arguments should be few; veiled and ornamented arguments should be the rule.

The treatment of arguments should be:—

Various: the art should not be apparent; it should not exhaust with satiety.

It should be interspersed with something pleasing; with something stirring.

The style of argumentation and of delivery should vary.

THE ARGUMENTATION.

This is the most important part of oratory, namely, the teaching by proof. Care must be taken not to neglect this for what may seem more pleasing, and we should avoid trying to move the feelings before the matter has been sufficiently proved.

Argumentation is the unfolding of the argument, either by exposition or by reasoning. It is the proving the truth or the falsity of a proposition, and answering objections to your view of the question.

Statement of The Question.

I. Explain the terms of the proposition so as to make it perfectly clear. A good exposition is often enough to show the truth or falsity of a proposition. In some cases it is the only proof possible. The exposition should be more or less full according to the difficulty of the proposition, the capacity of the audience, etc.

II. Give a short, fair resumé of the various common opinions on the subject.

III. State in what you agree with your adversaries, and what is therefore excluded from the discussion.

IV. State your proposition as you have thus explained it with the necessary limitations, qualifications, etc. If the proposition be compound, state distinctly and separately the several points you are going to prove.

An argument is a reason offered in proof, to convince the mind.

Arguments may be divided: —

(1) According to their purpose, into proving, by corroborating what is doubted; illustrative, adapted to please and win the good will; moving, what stimulates the soul.

(2) According to their force, into probable, what is generally the case; certain, what is always true. "Smoke declares fire."

(3) According to their subject matter, into intrinsic, those which arise out of the subject itself; extrinsic, those which are taken from other sources.

THE FORMS OF ARGUMENTATION.

An Argumentation is a reasoning in which a proposition less known is deduced from one that is better known.

The more usual forms of argumentation are: The Syllogism, Epichereme, Enthymeme, Dilemma, Sorites, and Induction.

The chief form of reasoning to which the others may be reduced is the syllogism.

The *Syllogism*: A form of argumentation consisting

of three propositions so related that if the first two propositions be granted, the third follows: —

Major — Every noble art should be praised.
Minor — Rhetoric is a noble art.
Conclusion — Therefore, Rhetoric should be praised.

In a syllogism what is said of the subject of the major (that it is worthy of praise) is affirmed of the subject of the conclusion (Rhetoric).

Every noble art (subject of major,) should be praised. Rhetoric is a noble art. Therefore Rhetoric (subject of the conclusion) should be praised.

The minor affirms that the subject of the conclusion (Rhetoric) is contained in the subject of the major (Every noble art) as part of the class.

The *Epichereme:* when the proof is joined to the major or minor, or to both.

The *Enthymeme:* when the major or the minor is omitted. This is the orator's syllogism.

The *Dilemma:* when the adversary has a choice of alternatives, either of which will confute him.

The *Sorites:* a succession of propositions, each derived from the preceding, until the conclusion is reached.

All the preceding forms of Argumentation are by *Deduction.* Deduction is a form of argumentation in which a truth that is less known is reached by means of those which are better known. It is *deduced*, or drawn from the better known.

Induction: a form of argumentation by which something doubtful is proved from the similarity with what has already been admitted. Induction, in other words, is a general conclusion about a class, because of knowledge of properties of the individuals of that class. For

example: Match one, burns; match two, burns, etc., therefore all matches will burn.

"Induction, as a distinct mental process, is nothing else than proving by *experiment* the minor premise of a simple syllogism, and as an argument, it is valid only so far as it is a syllogism."— *W. H. Hill, S. J., Logic.*

Two things are to be observed: (1) Let there be a necessary admission, and (2) Let the thing proved be like to those we have reasoned about.

The argumentation should be: (1) Clear, briefly concluded; (2) Freely amplified; (3) Each argument may be expounded in different ways.

Examples of the Forms of Arguments.

I. All reasoning may be reduced to the syllogism, and to test its validity as to form, it must be proved. In popular argumentative writing the reasoning is rarely presented in strict syllogistic form. But it is altogether necessary for the speaker or writer to have his reasoning before his mind in syllogistic form, and also to reduce the objections of his adversary, at least mentally, to the same. "People think, sometimes, that they are not arguing by syllogisms, because the parts of the syllogism are not written or spoken exactly as they are printed in books of Logic. But they might as well say that mental arithmetic is not arithmetic because the sums are not worked out at full length on paper." — *Jevons.*

II. The syllogism is based on the principle: —

(1) Two things, each equal to a third, are equal;

(2) Whatever may be affirmed or denied distribu-

tively (i.e. of each and all) of a class may be affirmed or denied of any individual of that class.

Dangerous pets are to be avoided.
Rattlesnakes are dangerous pets.
Therefore, rattlesnakes are to be avoided.

Those who attempt to grasp all, often lose all.
Some nations try to grasp everything.
Therefore, some nations are liable to lose all.

III. Every proposition may be reduced to the form: *A* is *B*; considering the nature of *A* you find it belongs to the class *C*. Thus all *A* is *C*. Comparing *C* and *B*, you find that *B* may be affirmed of all *C*. Therefore all *C* is *B*. Hence we have all *A* is *C*; but all *C* is *B*; therefore, all *A* is *B*, which is the strict and perfect syllogism.

$$A : C$$
$$C : B$$
$$A : B$$

e. g. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy," in form this is: —

All who shall obtain mercy are blessed.
But the merciful shall obtain mercy.
Therefore, the merciful are blessed.

Or "The wealthiest miser is truly poor."

The wealthiest miser is eaten up with a desire for more.
But the man who is taken up with a desire for more is truly poor.
Therefore, the wealthiest miser is truly poor.

IV. The rules for the structure of the syllogism belong to Logic; here it is enough to say: —

(1) In every syllogism there are three propositions: two premises and the conclusion;

(2) In every syllogism there are three, and must be only three terms. The predicate of the conclusion is called the major term; the subject of the conclusion is called the minor term. The other term, i.e. that which does not enter the conclusion is the middle term.

Major Premise (*Middle Term*), Goodness is *admired by* (*major term*) *all men.*

Minor Premise (*Minor Term*), Gentleness is a (*middle term*) form of goodness.

Therefore, gentleness is admired by all men.

Note: The premise containing the major and middle is the major premise; that containing the minor and middle is called the minor premise.

In order to form a syllogism from any statement, I simply ask the question, *why?* I mean, why is the statement true? And the answer is, *because:* and I give the reasons. This *because*, is the proof, and gives me the middle term. My first statement is the conclusion of the syllogism which was built upon that "*because*," which was the answer to the "*why.*"

For example: At present war with England would be a great risk (statement). *Why?* Asking the reason or the proof. *Because* it has a superior navy. This is the middle term of my syllogism.

To war with a nation that has a superior navy is a risk.
But England has a navy superior to that of America.
Therefore, for America to war with England is a risk.

(3) The middle term should be universal, i.e. taken in its whole comprehension (such that "all" may be written before it) at least once: e.g. These fail in this: —

All men are animals (i.e. "some" not "all" animals).
But dogs are animals.
Therefore, all men are dogs.
All men are animals ("some" animals).
All men are rational beings ("some" rational beings).
Therefore, all rational beings are animals.

Note: A universal affirmative proposition is never a universal — as: all men are (some) animals.

A universal negative proposition is always a universal — No stone is (any) animal.

(4) No term must be taken universally in the conclusion which has not been taken universally in the premises. Cf. Fallacy of Illicit Process *infra*.

(5) From two particular (i.e. with "some" prefixed to subject) propositions, we can draw no conclusion.

(6) If the premise is negative or particular, the conclusion will be negative or particular.

V. An argument may be presented in different forms.

(1) *Regular Style.* A law which cannot be enforced should be repealed. The law commanding injustice cannot be enforced. Therefore, it should be repealed.

(2) *Hypothetical Style.* If a law cannot be enforced it should be repealed. The law against every sense of justice cannot be enforced. Therefore, it should be repealed.

(3) *Enthymeme or Orator's Syllogism.* A law which cannot be enforced should be repealed. Therefore, this law should be repealed.

(4) *Epichereme* (in which each premise has its proof). All true patriots foster religion, because religion encourages peace, honesty, etc. Some great statesmen do not foster religion — because they per-

secute it, and enact hard laws against it. Therefore, some great statesmen are not true patriots.

(5) *Sorites* (a chain of reasoning). Young Themistocles rules his mother; she rules her husband; her husband rules Athens; Athens rules Greece; Greece rules the world; therefore, young Themistocles rules the world.

For the distribution or order of arguments, observe that the old rule is *fortiora, fortia, fortissima.*

Generally the order of the arguments as to strength and importance is as follows: (1) *A priori* or antecedent probability; (2) *A posteriori;* (3) Examples; (4) Testimony. This is the usual order of arguments. Of course no general rule can be given; circumstances only can decide.

In argumentation the duty of the orator is to instruct.

Illustration is the most appropriate way for the orator to please, or to conciliate.

The different kinds of illustration are Similitude, Example, Fable, Parable, Digression, Humor.

Similitude. "As a flock of cranes on the bank of the Oxus wait for the signal of their leader and then rise in their flight, so the Grecian army waited."

Example. "For personal influence over his soldiers few men have equalled Napoleon. For a glance of his eye, an approving nod, men would cast themselves into the cannon's mouth."

(1) The use of it should be moderate; (2) The diction should be dignified, but not too fastidious, nor daring.

Fable. "A parrot had its neck wrung for ordering

eight cords of wood. Recovering and rising to its feet it saw a dead cat. Walking over to it the parrot said, 'What did you order?'

"Moral: Our misery is the greatest until we see misery that is greater."

Parable. The Good Samaritan. The Parable of the Talents.

Digression is a narration or description, foreign to the real subject, but brought in to arouse interest or attention.

Burke's description of the descent of Hyder Ali on the Carnatic is an example of digression.

Digression is two-fold. (1) That which treats of a general question, of themes of civil eloquence, or which rouses the feelings. (2) That which is made by narration or description and is intended to please.

Humor is caused by the sudden and unexpected juxtaposition of two thoughts that are incongruous.

"You're late, my boy," as the Kerry man said to the chicken in the egg, who squeaked as he was about to be devoured.

Wit is of two kinds: (1) Where manners are caricatured and ridiculed. (2) By epigram, which in a word or phrase, shows how ridiculous the subject is.

"The greatest, brightest, meanest of mankind,"

said of Lord Bacon.

We ought carefully to observe when and how ridicule is to be employed. We must avoid, (1) Even appearing to imitate the farces of the stage; (2) Buffoon-like raillery; (3) In sacred oratory, anything calculated to raise laughter, especially jokes, should be altogether shunned.

REFUTATION.

I. See whether the objection is to the point. Many times an opponent will shirk the question, and instead of attacking your thesis will attack something like it. (It must be *ad idem*, *secundum idem*, *similiter*, *et eodem tempore*.)

"In a debate, respecting the Mityleneans who had been subdued after a revolt, Cleon is introduced contending for the justice of inflicting on them capital punishment; to which Diodorus is made to reply, that the Athenians are not sitting in judgment on the offenders, but in deliberation on their own interests, and ought not, therefore, to consider the *right* they may have to put the revolters to death, but the *expediency* of such a procedure." — *Whately.*

"Mr. President: when the mariner has been tossed for many days in thick weather and on an unknown sea, he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm to take his latitude and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course. Let us imitate this prudence, and before we float farther on the waves of this debate, refer to the point from which we departed, that we may at least be able to conjecture where we are now." — *Webster on Foote's Resolution.*

Truly, there is no reason why a confirmed drunkard should not make a good argument in favor of temperance, etc. Hence the argument *ad hominem*, unless supported by others more valid, is of no value. It is simply shirking the question. The same may be said of ridicule.

II. If the objection is to the point, see if its form is correct. The commonest fallacies against syllogistic form are: —

(1) Ambiguous Middle.

A bank is a place where money is kept;
The margin of a stream is a bank;
Therefore, the margin of a stream is a place where money is kept.

This is a very common fallacy; especially in the case of certain abstract nouns, as Liberty, etc.

(2) Illicit Process (i.e., using a term universally in the conclusion which was not so used in the premises). E.g.: —

All, who are unfaithful to their profession, are unworthy of confidence, etc.
But some doctors are unfaithful to their profession.
Therefore, all doctors are unworthy of confidence, etc.

III. If the objection is to the point and the reasoning correct as to form, consider whether the premises are true, i. e., if the matter of the argument is sound. For it must be remembered that the reasoning may be quite good as to form and yet quite false as to matter. E.g.

All men are asses;
All asses are cabbages;
Therefore, all men are cabbages.

This is quite correct as to form. The commonest fallacies under this head are: —

(1) *Post hoc*, or *cum hoc, ergo propter hoc:* assigning as a cause what is merely an antecedent or concomitant adjunct of the occasion or condition, or an imaginary cause: e.g. After the Reformation, literature and science flourished in England; therefore, owing to the Reforma-

tion, — the political and social standing of Mexico is very bad; but the Mexicans are Catholics; therefore, the political, etc., because they are Catholics. Or, Austria is a prosperous nation; but Austria is Catholic, therefore, etc.

(2) Begging the Question. Giving as a proof the proposition to be proved in other words; or assuming universals to prove particulars, or all particulars to prove a universal, or one correlative to prove the other: e.g. (*A*) "Why is my daughter dumb?" (*B*) "Because she has lost the power of speech." (*A*) "Why has she lost the power of speech?" (*B*) "Because the action of the tongue is impeded." — *Moliere.*

(3) Incomplete Induction, insufficiency of example, groundless analogy, prejudiced or incomplete or insufficient testimony, arguing from the particular to the general.

(4) Proving too much.

Wealth is liable to abuse.
But whatever is liable to abuse (health, speech, authority, etc.) is a curse;
Therefore, wealth is a curse.

"It may be granted that an orator does often influence the will by improper appeals to the passions; but it is no less true that he often imposes on the understanding by sophistical argument; yet this does not authorize us to reprobate the use of argument."— *Whately.*

(5) Objections, i.e., arguing that because certain objections which are difficult or even impossible to answer, can be brought against a thesis, the truth of which is proved by demonstrative arguments, therefore, the thesis is false. Thus, the asymptote of the hyperbole must continually approach nearer and nearer to the curve, yet it

is proved demonstratively that it can never meet the curve. Again, the theorem of the parallelogram of forces, the basis of the science of mechanics, has never been proved without in one way or the other "begging the question."

IV. In a word, in refutation you may: —

(1) Grant the premises and deny the conclusion (through default of form).

(2) Deny the premises and deny the conclusion (through default of matter).

(3) Deny the premises and grant the conclusion (through default of form and matter).

Note 1. — (*a*) Reduce the objection to form by supplying the omitted premises. (*b*) State the objection fairly and answer it, neither more nor less. (*c*) Do not waste your energy on every trifling objection; select those only that are of weight. (*d*) If you can, show the grounds of your opponent's false position.

Note 2. — Whately says that, generally speaking, the place for the refutation is "the midst of the argumentation." I should say rather at the beginning or at the end of each point or of the whole.

Note 3. — "It is often expedient, and sometimes unavoidable, to waive for the present some question or portion of a question, while our attention is occupied with another point." — *Whately.*

This is always allowable, and sometimes necessary.

Methods of Refutation.

There are three ways of refuting: (1) By denying the affair itself, the proof, the consequence. (2) By making a distinction. (3) By retorting.

(*a*) If we deny the affair, we must produce arguments, and if we assert anything we must give reasons and answer objections.

(*b*) If we deny the proof we must show (1) that the argument cannot be proved; (2) that a doubtful thing has been substituted for a certain thing; (3) that there is a flaw in the reasoning.

(*c*) We deny the consequence when we show that our opponent has not achieved what he attempted.

We refute by distinction, by allowing what is true, rejecting the false.

We retort on our adversary, when we propose his argument against himself.

There are other ways of refuting: We may charge the opposition with bad faith, or ignorance; we may propose weightier objections; we may laugh him to scorn.

We should make use of Refutation, (1) Before, if our proofs would otherwise lose their force; (2) Between, when something to be refuted arises from our treatment; (3) After the proofs, if the objections are extraneous.

In confuting we must see (1) if we can follow the order of our opponent; (2) If the answer to one argument applies to others.

THE MOVING OF THE FEELINGS.

Speech is adapted to moving the minds of men. This is the third and greatest aid to the orator.

It is necessary to prove, it is the part of agreeableness to please, but it is the part of victory to bend the will. This last, bringing the will into action, is the real work of oratory. Without it the rest is bare, weak, barren, and futile. The soul and spirit of the work is in this agitation. Aristotle divides the feelings into what are called the gentler emotions and the more ardent.

The gentler emotions are appealed to when we are willing to pardon those who have offended us, when we promise to make amends, when we offer conciliatory advice, and wherever there is no manifestation of hatred or of anger.

The more ardent emotions are appealed to when we rouse the passions, by stirring up anger, hatred, fear, pity or love.

To move others, we must ourselves be moved. Apostrophe is a potent resource, when so effectively made that we seem to see forms of absent ones before our eyes. In stirring the emotions, he will be the most successful who can the best imagine, and by words picture, these things. However, the orator must have firm control over these emotions in himself.

This part of the speech should be suited to (1) the nature and condition of the audience; (2) their present state of mind.

At first he should seem to coincide with the views of

his audience, but afterward he must carry them over to his own view of the question.

Amplification.

Amplification differs from argumentation in (1) Matter: one is directed to the greater things; the other to all. (2) Object: one bends the will; the other aims to prove. (3) Treatment: one serious in presentation, the other shrewdly adapted to circumstances.

There are several kinds of Amplification: —

(1) Of words, by setting forth one idea in various ways.

(2) Of circumstances, by a few words raising the subject to a matter of great importance, by placing together what is included in, or connected with, the affair;

(*a*) By accumulation: heaping up the arguments;

(*b*) By comparison: glorifying them;

(*c*) By argumentation: raising to higher things.

In the use of amplification we should bear in mind the following suggestions: —

We must not proceed at once to employ amplification. We must not employ it always. We must not abandon it too quickly. Let the orator always rise in the peroration, but when he has roused the feeling to the highest pitch, he should come to an appropriate close.

In other parts of the speech, when he has fired the audience, he should return to his proofs through the gentler emotions. Spontaneous fervor should not be repressed: in proportion as it is unassumed and genuine, does it more readily wing its way to the hearts of the hearers.

In Amplification, we should always avoid (1) things

learned or occult; (2) minute, insignificant; and (3) should show exquisite care in the use of words.

PERSUASION.

The orator should endeavor to bend the will, by the promise of happiness — real or apparent, near or remote, eternal or temporal. But the will is open to two influences: it has, so to say, two counsellors, reason, and sentiment or passion, the head and the heart; each having its own suit to urge. "The law of the body warreth against the law of the mind." The whole art of persuasion consists in either quieting or silencing the passions, so that the will may be influenced by the voice of reason only; or, better still (and this properly is persuasion) in making passion side with reason, so that both may urge the same suit upon the will, representing to it that happiness requires such and such an action or course of action.

Eloquence has three elements: "*Ut veritas pateat — placeat — moveat.*"—*St. Augustine.*

The truth should stand forth clearly, it should please, and should move the will.

(1) *Ut veritas pateat* requires that the truth be clearly expounded and proved, and that all objections and difficulties be satisfactorily removed.

(2) *Ut veritas placeat* requires that the exposition and argumentation be presented in an interesting, attractive manner, in keeping with the subject, the occasion, etc. To this may be added clearness, ease, and the other graces of style. Here it is that tact and taste, or what may be called literary good breeding, chiefly shows itself. The good writer "carefully avoids

whatever may cause a jar or a jolt in the minds of the reader, or a clashing of opinion, a collision of feeling, suspicion, gloom or resentment; he is tender towards the bashful, gentle towards the distant, merciful toward the absurd; he guards against unseasonable allusions or topics which may irritate. He is never mean or little in his disputes, never takes unfair advantage, never mistakes personalities or sharp sayings for arguments; his disciplined intellect preserves him from the blundering discourtesy of better, perhaps, but less educated minds, who like blunt weapons, tear and hack instead of cutting clean — who mistake the point in argument — waste their strength on trifles — misconceive their adversary — and leave the question more involved than they find it. He is as simple as he is forcible, and as brief as he is decisive. Nowhere shall we find greater candor, consideration, indulgence. He throws himself into the minds of his opponents; he accounts for their mistakes."— *Newman.*

So far, you will have interested and pleased your reader and convinced his reason of the truth of your position, but it does not follow at all that you have persuaded him. "Your case is well put," he may say; "it is true," — but the avarice or pride or party spirit or ambition, feeling itself aggrieved will present its case, and the will may reject the course marked out by reason and may follow passion. Hence the third and chief and essential element of persuasion.

(3) *Ut veritas moveat:* Passion made to join hands with reason and unite with it in demanding the consent of the will to such and such and such an action or course of action. To accomplish this the speaker must (*a*)

have certain qualities, natural and acquired. (*b*) He must know the character of his audience. (*c*) He must know something of the nature of the different passions, and the means of exciting and calming them. "The rudest speech of a man's heart goes into men's hearts and is the welcomest thing there."— *Carlyle.* "The essential fact is heat, heat which comes of sincerity."— *Emerson.* "Earnestness creates earnestness in others by sympathy, and the more a preacher loses and is lost to himself, the more does he gain his brethren. Nor is it without some logical force also, for what is powerful enough to absorb and possess a speaker has at least a *prima facie* of attention on the part of the hearer. On the other hand, anything which interferes with this earnestness, or which argues its absence is still more certain to blunt the force of the most cogent arguments, conveyed in the most eloquent language. "What does not come from the heart does not go to the heart." — *Weise.* "*Cor ad cor loquitur.*" (Newman's motto.)

As it has been said that in the countenance of most men of genius there is something of a womanly expression not seen in the faces of other men, so it is distinctive of the true poetical (and oratorical) temper that it ever carries the woman's heart with the man's. . . The woman's heart in Keble is blended with the martyr's courage. Some are misled by the bluster that passes with many for manliness, and forget that the bravest and most high-souled manhood is also the gentlest and most tender-hearted, that, according to the saying, "A man is never so much a man as when he becomes a child in heart."— *Shairp.*

An orator to persuade, to influence the will, to move

the feelings, must have in himself something of the spirit of the poet.

"Poetry should be simple, sensuous and passionate," says Milton. Simple, because its products are designed for the use of all men, and its images, thoughts, and words should be early comprehended by all who have attained certain advantages of culture and have been trained to a certain degree of thought and feeling. It should be sensuous, i. e., it deals with images, not with generalized and scholastic language. It presents pictures to the imagination, not refined and subtle reasonings to the thought-powers. It introduces action into every scene. It is eminently concrete and picturesque. It should also be passionate, i. e., its simple and pictured truth should come from a soul that is animated by warm and elevated emotions. Again, in the communication of truth there can be no question that a large measure of imagination is of essential service. He that would amply illustrate, powerfully defend, or effectually enforce the truths of science is greatly aided by a brilliant imagination. This of all other gifts delivers him from the tendency to the dry and abstract, to the general and the remote, to which the expounder of science is outwardly exposed from his familiarity with principles which are strange to his reader. "The philosophic writer is more likely to be clear in statement, simple in illustration, pertinent in his application, and exciting in his enforcement of the truth with which his science is conversant, whatsoever be its subject matter."—*Noah Porter.*

"Lovers and madmen have such seething brains
Each shaping fantasies, that apprehend

More than cool reason ever comprehends.
The lunatic, the lover, and the poet
Are of imagination all compact:
One sees more devils than vast hell can hold —
That is the madman; the lover, all as frantic,
Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt.
The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven.

And, as imagination bodies forth,
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothings
A local habitation and a name."

The contemplation of fictitious characters elevated and ennobled to high and ideal moral beauty, serves to quicken and inspire the moral ideal of thousands of susceptible minds. Thus the poet, the novelist, and the dramatist, quicken the fervor, instruct the minds, and elevate the taste of their readers. Thus we are lifted above ourselves and the examples around us, and aspire after nobler standards. A pure and elevated imagination is thus allied closely to a noble moral nature, and favors an ardent and sincere sustained religious faith.

"All dipt
In angel instinct, breathing Paradise,
Interpreter between the gods and men."
—*Princess.*

Hence to persuade, a writer must have a full knowledge of his subject; a clear, logical mind; a lively imagination; a command of plain, intelligible language; a warm, sympathetic heart; a whole-souled earnestness and honesty of purpose.

THE CHARACTER OF THOSE ADDRESSED.

"The proper study of mankind is man." Art can help but little toward acquiring this knowledge of character and of the motives that influence different classes of men. The sooner one begins practically to study human life in the concrete the better, and perhaps the very best way is to begin with one's self: for after all, though men differ in a great many things, it will be found in the end that we are all in a great many things alike. "The more intimately I discern your weaknesses, the stronger to me is the proof that I share them. Dear blunderers, I am one of you. If the human race has a bad reputation, I perceive that I cannot escape being compromised."—*George Eliot.*

Self-knowledge is the best principle to go upon in order to know others. With a full self-knowledge and some care to find out the views and feelings, likes and dislikes, etc., of those around us, young and old, high and low, and the information that can be derived from such studies of character as Shakespeare's plays and Thackeray's novels, one is fairly prepared to form an estimate of the motives that weigh with the mass of men as they are. Aristotle has enumerated certain peculiarities of different ages and states of life. They are in the main true and may be briefly stated here, with a caution not to suppose that they contain anything like the whole truth. One is not obliged to use all of them or each of them, but they will be a help to the orator in addressing various audiences.

Disposition of the Young. They are ardent, impulsive, impatient of restraint, fastidious, irritable, ambitious of

honor and victory, not generally avaricious, prone to anger, pride and vanity, sanguine and credulous, hopeful and hence easily imposed upon, rash and uncalculating, social, prone to carry things to excess, mischievous rather than malicious, prone to pity, fond of mirth, etc.

Disposition of Old Age. In general, the opposite of youth: slow, calculating, incredulous, indecisive, apt to look at the dark side of things, cautious, avaricious, timid and apprehensive, fond of life, selfish, desponding, despising appearances, *laudatores temporis acti*, querulous, prone to pity, irritable, etc.

Disposition of Middle Age. In general, a mean between youth and old age: neither rash nor timid, neither parsimonious nor extravagant, etc. Living in the present, not in the future or the past.

Wealth. Here Aristotle is very severe, perhaps unfair. He says the wealthy are generally insolent and overbearing, affected, as though they possessed every good, affectedly delicate and luxurious, presumptuous, arrogant, etc., ambitious of place and power, contemptuous, mannered and affected in their politeness, etc.

THE NATURE OF THE PASSIONS, AND THE MOTIVES THAT INFLUENCE THEM.

"To say that it is possible to persuade, without speaking to the passions, is but at best a kind of specious nonsense. The ablest reasoner always, in persuading addresseth himself to the passions in some way or other. This he cannot avoid doing if he speak to the purpose. To make me believe, it is not enough to show me that things are so; to make me act, it is necessary to show that the action will answer some

end. That can never be an end to me, which gratifies no passion or affection in my nature. You assure me it is for my honor; now you solicit my pride, without which I had never been able to understand the word. You say it is for my interest; now you bespeak my self-love. It is for the public good; now you rouse my patriotism. It will relieve the miserable; now you touch my pity. So far, therefore, is it from being an unfair method of persuasion to move the passions, that there is no persuasion without moving them."— *Campbell, Philosophy of Rhetoric.*

It is hardly necessary to say that what is morally true and good and beautiful must have a perennial fascination for man.

> "Whenever a noble deed is wrought —
> Whenever is spoken a noble thought —
> Our hearts in glad surprise
> To higher levels rise."
>
> — *Longfellow.*

"Do you imagine," said Socrates, "that what is good is not beautiful?" Artistotle has enumerated some of the general topics that serve to influence the several passions.

Happiness. Bacon says: "No man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit or pleasure or honor or the like." Happiness as commonly understood is: good fortune with virtue; or a pleasant life accompanied by security; or abundance of property with power to preserve and augment it; or independence of life with honor; for mankind allow either one or more of these things to amount nearly to happiness. Hence happiness implies; (1) Quiet of mind, a

safe conscience, knowledge, prudence, fortitude, temperance; (2) honor, good fortune; (3) noble birth, many and fine friends, health, wealth and a happy family, comeliness, stature, ability, character, etc.

The Honorable. "That is honorable which is loved for itself and is laudable. Virtue, i.e. justice, fortitude, temperance, magnanimity, generosity, placability, prudence, wisdom. Also the causes and effects of virtue, i.e. indications and acts of virtue; those actions the reward whereof is honor, not money; and the bestowing of benefits; and that which we do not for our own sakes; and excellence; and what none can do but we; and which we were the first to do; and which we did with little help; and the contrary of those things men are ashamed of; and those excellencies which few possess," etc.

The Good. "That is good which we love for itself and for which we love somewhat else; and what leads to a greater good; and what all desire; and what reason dictates; and that, which when we have it, we are content; and the cause or effect of any of these; and that which preserves any of these; and that which keeps off or destroys the contrary of these; and virtue and pleasure, and wealth and health, and beauty and strength, and friends and honor, and glory, and ability to say or do; and genius and independence, and comfort and ease; and that whose contrary is evil, and which many desire, and which is praised and that which is easy, and which is proper, and which we can attain; and that which is lasting and which wise and good men choose," etc.

Anger. We feel anger on account of a supposed slight. There are three species of slight: (1) contempt,

i.e. to think others of little worth in comparison with one's self; (2) crossing, i.e. to thwart another without design to benefit one's self; (3) contumely, i.e. to belittle or disgrace another for one's own pastime, to withhold respect, etc. "They are easily angered that think they excel others, and such as think they deserve well, and such as grieve to be hindered or not assisted; as poor men, sick men; and generally all that desire and attain not, are angry with those standing by who are not moved by their wants; and such as having expected good, find evil. Hence anger is felt towards those who mock, deride or jest at us, and such as do any kind of slight; and such as despise what we admire and labor for, and the more the less we are advanced therein; and towards friends more than towards those who are not friends; and those who do not requite kindness and courtesy; and such as hear not our entreaties, and such as are joyful and quiet in our distress; and those who readily hear and canvass our feelings; and those who slight us in presence of those whom we emulate, whom we admire, by whom we wish to be admired, in whose presence we are alive to delicacy of feeling, those who have a delicate feeling toward us. In these cases we feel anger more sensibly; and also we are angry with such as slight us in respect of our family, friends and connections; and with those who forget us," etc.

Anger is always felt towards some individual. A certain pleasure accompanies anger from the imagination of revenge to come.

> "Far, far too dear to every mortal breast
> Sweet to the soul as honey to the taste."
>
> — *Pope's Homer.*

Men are easily reconciled to those who have not voluntarily slighted them, or who wish done, the contrary of what they have done; or who behave the same way towards themselves; or who confess and repent and are sorry; or who humble themselves, or such as have formerly done more good than now hurt, and such as attend to us and implore our help; and such as we fear; and such as acted through passion or forgetfulness. Placable are they who are merry, good-humored, prosperous and such as have given their anger time to cool; and when the object of anger has suffered much from other sources; and who feel themselves deserving of slight for other reasons; and who think the revenge will not be felt or known to come from them or for such and such an injury, etc.

Love. "A friend is one that loves and is beloved; he that rejoiceth at another's good and grieves at his hurt; to whom what is good to us is good, and what is evil, evil; and that is friend to our friends and enemy to our enemies; and who has done good to us and ours, especially if much, readily and in season. We love those who are our friends' friends and our enemies' enemies; and those that are generous and brave and just; and that we would have love us; and the self-sacrificing, the gentle and well-bred and refined and pure and temperate and industrious, and who are forgiving and who do not talk scandal; and such as do not cross us; and such as are sincere; and true to their friends; and those who have the same object in view, providing their interests do not clash with ours; and those who admire and praise us; and those who imitate us; and such as confer favors gratis, unasked and privately."

Hatred. Anger arises from something which has reference to ourselves, but hatred springs independently even of reference to ourselves; if we conceive a person or thing to be of a certain description, we bear hatred towards him or it. Anger regards individuals only, hatred whole classes. The qualities which inspire hatred are the opposite of those which cause love.

Fear. Fear is caused by the idea of evil close at hand; we fear things capable of destroying or hurting; and the signs of such hatred and anger in those who have power to hurt us; also those we have injured or offended, if they have power; and competitors in such things as cannot satisfy both; and such as are more powerful than we; and such as have harmed more powerful than we; and such as are dissemblers and crafty; and such things wherein if we err the error is irreparable; and such as admit none or not easy help; and such things as being done to others make us pity them. They that fear not are such as expect no evil, or not now, or not then, or not from there; and therefore in prosperity men fear little; and that have already suffered extremes and those who are without hope.

> "So farewell hope; and with hope farewell fear;
> Farewell remorse, all good to me is lost."
>
> —*Paradise Lost.*

Audacity, or Assurance, or Confidence, are present when danger is far and succor near; or when there is a means of averting or repairing the loss; or when one has no enemies or not powerful ones; or no rivals or not powerful ones; or when one is subject to what all are exposed to. Men are confident who have been long suc-

cessful: or have many times escaped the same or greater dangers.

> "Though far and near the bullets hiss;
> I've 'scaped a bloodier death than this."
>
> — *Byron.*

And when the case does not alarm our equals or inferiors; and those who are wealthy and have many friends; also if they have not offended any or not many, or not such as can hurt; and those who stand well with heaven.

Shame. Men are ashamed of what brings disgrace, as depravity, lying, cowardice, dishonesty, low company, meaness, stinginess, and to be a parasite and flatterer, and effeminacy and vanity, and the wanting those creditable qualities our equals possess; or to be ignorant of such and such things: to be beholden often to others and to participate in base actions; and men feel shame who have suffered disgrace. We feel shame before those whom we admire and whom we desire to admire us; and those who are our rivals in honor; and those whose opinion we value; our friends, good and well-bred men; and those who will publish our failings; and those with whom we stand well; and those whom we dislike or despise or have injured; and men of the world and society.

Gratitude for Favor: Gratuitous Benevolence. A favor is great when the need is great; or when rare and great benefits are to be conferred; and when the favor was bestowed willingly, with sacrifice to the giver, etc. It is not so great a favor if it is done by chance or through necessity or for gain's sake; or if it has been requited; or if it was well deserved; or if it was a

trifle and cost the giver nothing or if he did as much or more for others, our enemies, etc.

Pity. "Grief for the calamity of another is pity and ariseth from the imagination that the like calamity may befall himself." — *Hobbes.* Those are inclined to pity, who have already suffered; and the old and experienced and the weak and the timid, and men of education, for they know the like may happen to themselves or those they love. And those who have parents and children and other near friends; and those who think well of men; and those are pitiless, who are in great misery or in great prosperity; and those who are angry or very confident and mockers; and those who think ill of men; and those who are in great fear. Evils which excite pity are those things which cause pain and anguish, if they be great and not incurred through the sufferer's fault, i. e. death, injury, unmerited disgrace, and want or loss of and fewness of friends, and infirmity and deformity, and evil coming from a source whence good was expected or deserved, and those we pity are our acquaintances and our equals whether in age or rank or family; and those who are our contemporaries, etc.

Indignation. To feel pain at undeserved misfortune is opposed to pain at undeserved good fortune. For whatever happens contrary to desert strikes us as unjust.

Envy. Men envy their equals or superiors in age, habits, character, wealth, etc. They are envious who are within a little of success, and those who think they have great wisdom or good fortune; and those who catch at glory; and mean and poor spirits. The things which provoke envy are: such as bring glory and the

goods of fortune, and such as we desire for ourselves; and such things in the possession of which we excel others by a little, or they us; and when others get easily what we get with difficulty; and those that possess what we have had or lost, etc.

Emulation. A harmless emotion, whereas envy is depraved. Those likely to feel emulation are those who feel themselves capable of gaining what others have gained, i.e., the young and high spirited; and those who are highly thought of and admired; and those whose ancestors, friends and countrymen have been eminent. Objects of emulation are virtue, fame, honor, and things which profit and please, and nobleness and ability and heroism, etc.

The more indirect the appeal to the passions the better. The importance of the subject in itself, its effects, etc., its relation to those addressed, its proximity of time and place, and its minuteness of detail, enhance the force of motives addressed to the passions.

A passion may be diminished (1) by pointing out improbability, unplausibility, insignificance, distance of time and place, want of reference to those addressed, etc. (2) By exciting another passion which may overcome it; it promotes my interest, but it is dishonorable; it gratifies my resentment, but hurts my interests, etc. (3) By changing the object. (4) Cool, reasoning, showing the unreasonableness of being excited. (5) Ridicule.

In what has been said about the feelings, in regard to persuasion, it is well to remember that all these suggestions about the various passions, prepared by Aristotle, are, like storehouses, mines, sources from which we may

draw ideas to be developed. It is not necessary to use all of them, but when we need a particular point it is wisdom to know where to apply for suggestions. "*Scienti ubi sit scientia, proximus est habenti.*" "To know where to find wisdom is next door to having it."

Aristotle knew human nature very well, and to take him as a guide or pilot, is at least as safe as trusting to our own impressions. But we can assimilate, and develop and present, with original force and telling effect, the very thoughts suggested by the great philosopher. This is the utility and the advantage of the foregoing points on that part of Rhetoric called persuasion, indispensable to the orator in the real work of eloquence, — that is, in moving the will to act.

PERORATION.

The Peroration is the conclusion of the discourse. The orator strives here, especially, to obtain the effect he was toiling for throughout the whole speech.

The parts of the peroration are (*a*) Enumeration, (*b*) Amplification.

ENUMERATION.

This presents briefly the whole case. It is employed when the orator distrusts the memory of his auditors, or when the summing up would produce a forcible effect. It should be employed on every occasion, where needed, sometimes in the demonstration, more frequently in persuasive eloquence and still more in accusation.

The summing up should not be in detail, but by brief ecapitulation. On the other hand it should not be a bare and exact repetition, but varied and modified, otherwise it would be distasteful.

AMPLIFICATION.

Although development and appeal to the feelings may be found in other parts of the discourse, this is its suitable place. "Here," says Fabius, "open the fountains of eloquence." If the rest of the speech has been well given, the minds of the hearers are won, and it is only necessary to drive home the effect.

In all this there is need of wisdom of a prudent choice, for sometimes at the close of an oration it is proper to make use of the gentler emotions. This would be to warn the adversary in a friendly manner, or to exhort to peace, etc., and this would occur especially in deliberative and sacred eloquence.

In a word, the orator in the use of amplification, should set before himself the whole case, and state those things which would have the greatest weight with him, if he were a listener.

Sometimes enumeration or summing up of the arguments is combined with amplification or the appeal to the feelings.

PART II.

THE PARTS OF A DISCOURSE, ILLUSTRATED BY EXAMPLES FROM AMERICAN AND BRITISH ORATORS.

I. SIMPLE EXORDIUMS.

Motion for an Address . . . Lord Chatham.

From the proposition before the House, Sir, we may perceive that whatever alteration has been, or may be produced with respect to foreign measures by the late change in administration, we cannot expect any with regard to our domestic affairs. In foreign measures indeed, a most extraordinary change has taken place. From one extreme our administration has run to the very verge of another. Our former Minister (Walpole) betrayed the interests of his country by his pusillanimity; our present Minister (Cartaret) would sacrifice them by his quixotism. Our former Minister was for negotiating with all the world; our present Minister is for fighting against all the world. Our former Minister was for agreeing to every treaty, though never so dishonorable; our present Minister will give ear to none, though never so reasonable. Thus, while both appear to be extravagant, this difference results from their opposite conduct; that the wild system of the one must subject the nation to a much heavier expenditure than was ever incurred by the pusillanimity of the other.

American Taxation . . . . Edmund Burke.

Sir, I agree with the honorable gentleman who spoke last that this subject is not new in this House. Very disagreeably to this House, very unfortunately to this nation and to the peace and prosperity of this whole empire, no topic has been more familiar to us. For nine long years, session after session, we have been lashed round and round this miserable circle of occasional arguments and temporary expedients. I am sure our heads must turn and our stomachs nauseate with them. We have had them in every shape; we have looked at them in every point of view. Invention is exhausted; reason is

fatigued; experience has given judgment; but obstinacy is not yet conquered. The honorable gentleman has made one endeavor more to diversify the form of this disgusting argument. He has thrown out a speech composed almost entirely of challenges. Challenges are serious things; and as he is a man of prudence as well as resolution, I dare say he has very well weighed those challenges before he delivered them. I had long the happiness to sit at the same side of the House, and to agree with the honorable gentleman on all the American questions. My sentiments, I am sure, are well known to him, and I thought I had been perfectly acquainted with his. Though I find myself mistaken, he will still permit me to use the privilege of an old friendship; he will permit me to apply myself to the House under the sanction of his authority, and on various grounds he has measured out, to submit to you the poor opinion which I have formed upon a matter of importance enough to demand the fullest consideration I could bestow upon it.

The Compromise Tariff . . . . . Henry Clay.

I, yesterday, Sir, gave notice that I should ask leave to introduce a bill to modify the various acts imposing duties on imports. I at the same time added that I should, with the permission of the Senate, offer an explanation of the principle on which that bill is founded. I owe, Sir, an apology to the Senate for this course of action, because, although strictly parliamentary, it is nevertheless out of the usual practice of this body; but it is a course which I trust that the Senate will deem to be justified by the interesting nature of the subject. I rise, Sir, on this occasion, actuated by no motives of a private nature, by no personal feelings and for no personal object; but exclusively in obedience to a sense of the duty which I owe to my country. I trust that no one therefore, will anticipate on my part any ambitious display of such humble powers as I may possess. It is sincerely my purpose to present a plain, unadorned, and naked statement of facts connected with the measure which I shall have the honor to propose and with the condition of the country. When I survey, Sir, the whole face

of our country, I behold all around me evidences of the most gratifying prosperity; a prospect which would seem to be without a cloud on it were it not that through all parts of the country there exist great dissensions and unhappy distinctions which ought to be quieted, and leading to which object any measure ought to be well received.

Continuation of the Bank Charter . Daniel Webster.

Mr. President, I rise, pursuant to notice, to ask leave to bring in a bill to last for six years — the act incorporating the subscribers to the bank of the United States; and I shall hope for that indulgence of the Senate which is usually granted on such occasions, if I accompany its introduction with some remarks on the general state of the country as well as on the nature of the measure proposed. If leave be granted, it is my purpose to refer the bill to the Committee on Finance that it may take the usual course and come up for the consideration of the Senate in due season. Mr. President, in the midst of ample means of national and individual happiness, we have unexpectedly fallen into severe distress. Our course has been suddenly arrested. The general pulse of life and the activity and industry of the country feel a pause. A vastly extended and beneficent commerce is checked, manufactures are suspended with incalculable injury to those concerned in them, and the labors of agriculture threatened with the loss of their usual rewards. Our resources are, nevertheless, at the same time abundant, and all external circumstances highly favorable and advantageous, such as fairly promised us not only a continuance of that prosperity which we have actually enjoyed, but its rapid advancement to still higher things. The condition of the country is, indeed, singular. It is like that of a strong man chained. In full health, with strength unabated, and faculties unimpaired, it is yet incapable of performing its accustomed action. Fetters and manacles are on all its limbs. If we could but unbind it, if we could break these chains, if we could once more set it free, it would, in a moment, resume its activity and go on again on its rapid career. It is our duty, Sir, to relieve its restraint, to unshackle the industry of the people, and give

play, once more, to their common action and their common energies. The evils, all the evils, which we now feel, and feel so acutely, result from political measures and by political measures alone can they be redressed. They have their origin in acts of government, and they must find their cure in other acts of government.

II. EXORDIUMS BY INSINUATION.

For Lord George Gordon . Lord Thomas Erskine.

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY: Mr. Kenyon having informed the court that we propose to call no other witnesses, it is now my duty to address myself to you as counsel for the noble prisoner at the bar, the whole evidence being closed. I used the word "closed" because it certainly is not finished, since I have been obliged to leave the seat in which I sat, to disentangle myself from the volumes of men's names which lay there under my feet, whose testimony, had it been necessary for the defence, would have confirmed all the facts that are already in evidence before you. Gentlemen, I feel myself entitled to expect, both from you and from the Court, the greatest indulgence and attention. I am, indeed, a greater object of your compassion than even my noble friend whom I am defending. He rests secure in conscious innocence and in the well-placed assurance that it can suffer no stain in your hands. Not so with me. I stand before you a troubled, I am afraid a guilty man in having presumed to accept of the awful task which I am now called upon to perform — a task which my learned friend who spoke before me, though he has justly risen by extraordinary capacity and experience to the highest rank in his profession, has spoken of with that distrust and diffidence which becomes every Christian in a cause of blood. If Mr. Kenyon has such feelings, think what mine must be. Alas! Gentlemen, who am I? A young man of little experience, unused to the Bar of Criminal Courts, and sinking under the dreadful consciousness of my defects. I have, however, this consolation, that no ignorance, no inattention on my part, can possibly prevent you from seeing, under the direction of the judges, that the Crown has established no case of treason.

The Boston Massacre . . . Joseph Warren.

MY EVER-HONORED FELLOW-CITIZENS: It is not without the most humiliating conviction of my want of ability that I now appear before you; but the sense I have of the obligation I am under to obey the calls of my country at all times, together with an animating recollection of your indulgence exhibited on so many occasions, has induced me once more, undeserving as I am, to throw myself upon that candor which looks with kindness on the feeble efforts of an honest mind. You will not now expect the elegance, the learning, the fire, the enrapturing strain of eloquence, which charmed you when a Lovell, a Church and a Hancock spoke; but you will permit me to say that with a sincerity equal to theirs I mourn over my bleeding country. With them I weep at her distress, and with them deeply resent the many injuries she has received from the hands of cruel and unreasonable men. That personal freedom is the natural right of every man, and that property, or an exclusive right to dispose of what he has honestly acquired by his own labor, necessarily arises therefrom, are truths which common sense has placed beyond the reach of contradiction, and no man or body of men can, without being guilty of flagrant injustice, claim a right to dispose of the persons or acquisitions of any other man or body of men unless it can be proved that such a right has arisen from some compact between the parties, in which it has been explicitly and freely granted.

The Boston Massacre . . . John Hancock.

MEN, BRETHREN, FATHERS, AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: The attentive gravity, the venerable appearance of this crowded audience, the dignity which I behold in the countenances of so many in this great assembly, the solemnity of the occasion upon which we have met together, joined to a consideration of the part I am taking in the important business of this day, fill me with an awe hitherto unknown and heighten the sense which I have ever had of my unworthiness to fill this sacred desk. But, allured by the call of some of my respected fellow-citizens, with whose request it is always my pleasure to comply, I almost forgot my want of ability to perform what they required.

In this situation I find my only support in assuring myself that a generous people will not severely censure what they know was well intended, though its want of merit should prevent their being able to applaud it. And I pray that my sincere attachment to the interest of my country, and the hearty detestation of every design formed against her liberties may be admitted as some apology for my appearance in this place.

The Seminole War . . . . . Henry Clay.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In rising to address you, Sir, on the very interesting subject which now engages the attention of Congress, I must be allowed to say that all inferences, drawn from the course which it will be my painful duty to take in this discussion, of unfriendliness either to the Chief Magistrate of this country or to the illustrious military chieftain whose operations are under investigation, will be wholly unfounded. Towards that distinguished captain, who shed so much glory on our country, whose renown constitutes so much of its moral property, I never had, I never can have any other feelings than those of the most profound respect and of the utmost kindness. With him my acquaintance is very limited but, so far as it has extended, it has been of the most amicable kind. I know the motives which have been and which will again be attributed to me in regard to the other exalted personages alluded to. They have been and will be unfounded. I have no interest other than that of seeing the concerns of my country well and happily administered. It is infinitely more gratifying to behold the prosperity of my country advancing by the wisdom of the measures adopted to promote it, than it would be to expose the errors which may be committed, if there be any, in the conduct of its affairs. Little as has been my experience in public life, it has been sufficient to teach me that the most humble station is surrounded by difficulties and embarrassments. Rather than throw obstructions in the way of the President, I would precede him, and pick out those, if I could, which might jostle against his progress; I would sympathize in his embarrassments and commiserate with him in his misfortunes. It is true that it has been my mortification to differ

from that gentleman on several occasions. I may again be compelled to differ from him, but I will say with the utmost sincerity that I have formed no resolution, come under no engagements, and that I never will form any resolution or contract, any engagement for systematic opposition to his administration or to that of any other Chief Magistrate.

III. GRAND EXORDIUMS.

Adams and Jefferson . . . Daniel Webster.

This is an unaccustomed spectacle. For the first time, fellow-citizens, badges of mourning shroud the columns and overhang the arches of this hall. These walls which were consecrated so long ago to the cause of American liberty, which witnessed her infant struggles and rung with the shouts of her earliest victories, proclaim now, that distinguished friends and champions of that great cause have fallen. It is right that it should be thus. The tears which flow and the honors that are paid when the founders of the republic die, give hope that the republic itself may be immortal. It is fit that by public assembly and solemn observance, by anthem and by eulogy, we commemorate the services of national benefactors, extol their virtues, and render thanks to God for eminent blessings early given and long continued, through their agency, to our favored country.

Adams and Jefferson are no more; and we are assembled, fellow-citizens, the aged, the middle-aged and the young, by the spontaneous impulse of all, under the authority of the municipal government, with the presence of the chief magistrate of the Commonwealth and others, its official representatives, the University, and the learned societies, to bear our part in those manifestations of respect and gratitude which pervade the whole land. Adams and Jefferson are no more. On our fiftieth anniversary, the great day of national jubilee, in the very hour of public rejoicing, in the midst of echoing and re-echoing voices of thanksgiving, while their own names were on all tongues, they took their flight together to the world of spirits.

If it be true that no one can safely be pronounced happy while he lives, if that event which terminates life can alone crown its honors and its glories, what felicity is here! The great epic of their lives, how happily concluded! Poetry itself has hardly terminated illustrious lives, and finished the career of earthly renown, by such a consummation. If we had the power, we could not wish to reverse this dispensation of the Divine Providence. The great objects of life were accomplished, the drama was ready to be closed. It has closed; our patriots have fallen; but so fallen, at such age, with such coincidence, on such a day, that we cannot rationally lament that the end has come, which we knew could not long be deferred.

Neither of these great men, fellow-citizens, could have died at any time without leaving an immense void in our American society. They have been so intimately, and for so long a time, blended with the history of the country, and especially so united, in our thoughts and recollections, with the events of the Revolution, that the death of either would have touched the chords of public sympathy. We should have felt that one great link, connecting us with former times, was broken; that we had lost something more, as it were of the presence of the Revolution itself, and of the act of independence; and were driven on by another great remove from the days of our country's early distinction, to meet posterity, and to mix with the future. Like the mariner, whom the currents of the ocean and the winds carry along, till he sees the stars which have directed his course and lighted his pathless way descend, one by one, beneath the rising horizon, we should have felt that the stream of time had borne us onward till another great luminary, whose light had cheered us and whose guidance we had followed, had sunk away from our sight.

But the concurrence of their death on the anniversary of Independence has naturally awakened stronger emotions. Both had been Presidents, both had lived to great age, both were early patriots, and both were distinguished and ever honored by their immediate agency in the act of independence. It cannot but seem striking and extraordinary, that these two

should live to see the fiftieth year from the date of that act, that they should complete that year; and that then, on the day which had fast linked forever their own fame with their country's glory, the heavens should open to receive them both at once. As their lives themselves were the gifts of Providence, who is not willing to recognize in their happy termination as well as in their long continuance, proofs that our country and its benefactors are objects of His care?

Adams and Jefferson, I have said are no more. As human beings, indeed, they are no more. They are no more, as in 1776, bold and fearless advocates of independence; no more, as at subsequent periods, the head of the government; no more, as we have recently seen them, aged and venerable objects of admiration and regard. They are no more. They are dead. But how little is there of the great and good which can die! To their country they yet live, and live forever. They live in all that perpetuates the remembrance of men on earth; in the recorded proofs of their own great actions, in the offspring of their intellect, in the deep engraved lines of public gratitude, and in the respect and homage of mankind. They live in their example; and they live, emphatically, and will live, in the influence which their lives and efforts, their principles and opinions, now exercise, and will continue to exercise, on the affairs of men, not only in their own country, but throughout the civilized world. A superior and commanding human intellect, a truly great man, when Heaven vouchsafes so rare a gift, is not a temporary flame, burning brightly for a while and then giving place to returning darkness. It is rather a spark of fervent heat, as well as radiant light, with power to enkindle the common mass of human kind; so that when it glimmers in its own decay, and finally goes out in death, no night follows, but it leaves the world all light, all on fire, from the potent contact of its own spirit. Bacon died; but the human understanding, roused by the touch of his miraculous wand to a perception of the true philosophy and the just mode of enquiring after truth, has kept on its course successfully and gloriously. Newton died; yet the courses of the spheres are still known, and they yet move on by the laws

which he discovered, and in the orbits which he saw and described for them, in the infinity of space.

No two men now live, fellow-citizens, perhaps it may be doubted whether any two men have ever lived in one age, who, more than those we now commemorate, have impressed on mankind their own sentiments in regard to politics and government, infused their own opinions more deeply into the opinions of others, or given a more lasting direction to the current of human thought. Their work doth not perish with them. The tree which they assisted to plant will flourish, although they water and protect it no longer; for it has struck its roots deep, it has sent them to the very centre; no storm, not of force to burst the orb, can overturn it; its branches spread wide; they stretch their protecting arms broader and broader, and its top is destined to reach the heavens. We are not deceived. There is no delusion here. No age will come in which the American Revolution will appear less than it is, one of the greatest events in human history. No age will come in which it shall cease to be seen and felt, on either continent, that a mighty step, a great advance, not only in American affairs, but in human affairs, was made on the fourth of July 1776. And no age will come, we trust, so ignorant or so unjust as not to see and acknowledge the efficient agency of those we now honor in producing that momentous event.

Defence of Owen Kirwan . . John Philpot Curran.

It has become my duty to state to the court and jury the defence of the prisoner at the bar. I am chosen for that very unpleasant task without my concurrence or knowledge; but as soon as I was apprised of it, I accepted without hesitation. To assist a human being laboring under the most awful of all situations — trembling in the dreadful alternative of honorable life or ignominious death — is what no man, worthy of the name, could refuse to man; but it would be peculiarly base in any person who had the honor of wearing the King's gown, to leave the King's subject undefended until a sentence pronounced upon him had shown that neither in fact nor in law could any defence avail him.

I cannot, however, but confess, that I feel no small consolation when I compare my present with my former situation upon similar occasions. In those sad times to which I allude it was frequently my fate to come forward to the spot where I now stand, with a body sinking under infirmity and disease and a mind broken with the consciousness of public calamity, created and exasperated by public folly. It has pleased Heaven that I should live to survive both those afflictions and I am grateful to it's mercy.

I now come here through a composed and quiet city. I read no expression in any face, save such as mark the ordinary feelings of social life, or the various characters of civil occupation — I see no frightful spectacle of infuriated power or suffering humanity — I see no tortures — I hear no shrieks — I no longer see the human heart charred in the flame of its own wild and paltry passions, black and bloodless, capable of only catching and communicating that destructive fire by which it devours and is itself devoured.

I no longer behold the ravages of that odious bigotry by which we were deformed and degraded and disgraced, a bigotry against which no honest man should ever miss an opportunity of putting his countrymen, of all sects and all descriptions, upon their guard. It is the accursed and promiscuous progeny of servile hypocrisy — of remorseless lust of power — of insatiate thirst of gain, laboring for the destruction of man under the specious pretence of religion. Her banner stolen from the altar of God, and her allies congregated from the abysses of Hell; she acts by votaries to be restrained by no compunctions of humanity, for they are dead to mercy — to be reclaimed by no voice of reason, for refutation is bread on which their folly feeds; they are outlawed alike from their species and their Creator — the object of their crime is social life and the wages of their sin is social death.

Though it may happen that a guilty individual should escape from the law that he has broken, it cannot be so with nations — their guilt is too unwieldy for such escape. They may rest assured that Providence has, in the natural connection between causes and their effects, established a system of retrib-

utive justice by which the crimes of nations are sooner or later avenged by their own inevitable consequences. But that hateful bigotry, that baneful discord which fired the heart of man and steeled it against his brother, has fled at last, and I trust forever. Even in this melancholy place, I feel myself restored and recreated by breathing the mild atmosphere of justice, mercy and humanity. I feel I am addressing a jury of my country-men, my fellow-subjects and my fellow-christians, against whom my heart is waging no ill-concealed hostility — from whom my face is disguising no latent sentiment of repugnance or disgust. I have not now to touch the chords of an angry passion in those that hear me, nor have I the terror of thinking that if those chords cannot be snapped by the stroke, they will be only provoked into a more instigated vibration. Whatever I address to the court in point of law, or to the jury in point of fact, will be heard not only with patience but with an anxious desire to supply what may be defective in the defence.

This happy change in the minds and feelings of all men is the natural consequence of that system of mildness and good temper which has been recently adopted, and which I strongly exhort you, gentlemen of the jury, to imitate, and to improve upon, that you may thereby demonstrate to ourselves, to Great Britain and to the enemy, that we are not that assembly of fiends which we have been alleged to be, unworthy of the ordinary privilege of regular justice or the lenient treatment of a merciful government.

It is of the utmost importance to be on your guard against the wicked and mischievous representation of the circumstances which call you now together; you ought not to take from any unauthenticated report those facts which you can have directly from sworn evidence.

IV. ABRUPT EXORDIUMS.

Hostilities with America . . . Lord Chatham.

My Lords, this a flying moment; perhaps but six weeks left to arrest the dangers that surround us. The gathering storm

may break; it has already spread, and in part burst. It is difficult for government, after all that has passed, to shake hands with defiers of the King, defiers of the Parliament, defiers of the people. I am a defier of nobody, but if an end is not put to this war there is an end to this country. I do not trust my judgment in my present state of health; this is the judgment of my better days — the result of forty years attention to America. They are rebels; but for what? Surely not for defending their unquestionable rights. What have these rebels done heretofore? I remember when they raised four regiments on their own bottom, and took Louisburg from the veteran troops of France. But their excesses have been great. I do not mean their panegyric, but must observe in extenuation the erroneous and infatuated counsels which have prevailed: the door to mercy and justice has been shut against them; but they may still be taken up upon the grounds of the former submission. [Refers to petition.]

I state to you the importance of America: it is a double market. The market of consumption and the market of supply. This double market for millions, with naval stores, you are giving to your hereditary rival. America has carried you through four wars and will now carry you to your death if you don't take things in time. In the sportman's phrase, when you have found yourselves at fault you must try back. You have ransacked every corner of Lower Salon, but forty thousand German born never can conquer ten times the number of British freemen. You may ravage — you cannot conquer; it is impossible. You cannot conquer the Americans. You talk, my Lords, of your numerous friends among them to annihilate the Congress, and of your powerful forces to disperse their army. I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch. But what would you conquer — the mass of America? I am ready to meet any general officer on the subject [looking at Lord Amherst]. What will you do without the protection of your fleet? In the winter, if together, they are starved; and if dispersed, they are taken off in detail. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises; I know what ministers will throw out; but at last will come your equinoctial disappoint-

ment. You have nothing in America but stations; you have been three years teaching them the art of war; they are apt scholars; and I will venture to tell your Lordships that the American gentry will make officers enough, fit to command the troops of all the European powers. What you have sent there are too many to make peace — too few to make war. If you conquer them, what then? You cannot make them respect you. You cannot make them wear your cloth; you will plant an invincible hatred in their breasts against you. Coming from the stock they do, they can never respect you. If ministers are founded in saying there is no sort of treaty with France there is still a moment left; the point of honor is still safe. France must be as self-destroying as England, to make a treaty while you are giving her America at the expense of twelve millions a year. The intercourse has produced everything to France; and England, old England, must pay for all. I have, at different times, made different propositions adapted to the circumstances in which they were offered. The plan contained in the former bill is now impracticable; the present motion will tell you where you are and what you have now to depend upon. It may produce a respectable division in America, and unanimity at home; it will give America an option: she has yet had no option. You have said, "Lay down your arms," and she has given you the Spartan answer, "Come, take."

A Declaration of Irish Rights . . Henry Grattan.

I am now to address a free people. Ages have passed away and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation. I have spoken on the subject of your liberty so often that I have nothing to add and have only to admire by what Heaven-directed steps you have proceeded until the whole faculty of the nation is braced up to the act of her own deliverance. I found Ireland on her knees. I watched over her with an eternal solicitude and have traced her progress from injuries to arms and from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift — spirit of Molyneux — your genius has prevailed — Ireland is now a nation — in that character I hail her; and, bowing to

her august presence, I say *Esto perpetua!* She is no longer a wretched colony returning thanks to her Governor for his rapine, and to her King for his oppression; nor is she now a fretful, squabbling sectary, perplexing her little wits and firing her furious statutes with bigotry, sophistry, disabilities and death, to transmit to posterity insignificance and war. Look to the rest of Europe. Holland lives on the memory of past achievements, Sweden has lost her liberty, England has sullied her great name by an attempt to enslave her colonies! You are the only people — you, of the nations of Europe, are now the only people — who excite admiration; and in your present conduct you not only exceed the present generation, but you equal the past. I am not afraid to turn back and look antiquity in the face. The Revolution, that great event — whether you call it ancient or modern, I know not — was tarnished with bigotry. The great deliverer — for such I must ever call the Prince of Nassau — was blemished by oppression. He assented — he was forced to assent — to acts which deprived the Catholics of religion and all the Irish of civil and commercial rights, though the Irish were the only subjects in these islands who had fought in his defence. But you have sought liberty on her own principles. See the Presbyterians of Bangor petition for the Catholics of the South! You, with difficulties innumerable, with dangers not a few, have done what your ancestors wished, but could not accomplish; and what your posterity may preserve but will never equal. You have moulded the jarring elements of your country into a nation, and have rivalled those great and ancient states, whom you were taught to admire, and among whom you are now to be recorded.

In Defense . . . . . Daniel O'Connell.

I consented to the adjournment yesterday, gentlemen of the jury, from that impulse of nature which compels us to postpone pain; it is, indeed, painful to me to address you; it is a cheerless, a hopeless task to address you — a task which would require all the animation and interest to be derived from the working of a mind full fraught with the resentment and disgust created

in mine yesterday, by that farrago of helpless absurdity with which Mr. Attorney-General regaled you.

But I am now not sorry for the delay. Whatever I may have lost in vivacity I trust I shall compensate for in discretion. That which yesterday excited my anger now appears to be an object of pity; and that which then roused my indignation now only moves contempt. I can now address you with feelings softened and, I trust, subdued; and I do, from my soul, declare that I now cherish no other sensations than those which enable me to bestow on the Attorney-General and on his discourse pure and unmixed compassion.

It was a discourse in which you could not discern either order, or method, or eloquence; it contained very little logic, and no poetry at all; violent and virulent, it was a confused and disjointed tissue of bigotry, amalgamated with congenial vulgarity. He accused my client of using Billingsgate, and he accused him of it in language suited exclusively for that meridian. He descended even to the calling of names; he called this young gentleman a "malefactor," a "jacobin," and a "ruffian," gentlemen of the jury; he called him "abominable," and "seditious," and "revolutionary," and "infamous," and a "ruffian," again, gentlemen of the jury; he called him a "brothel-keeper," a "pander," a "kind of bawd in breeches," and a "ruffian," a third time, gentlemen of the jury.

I cannot repress my astonishment how Mr. Attorney-General could have preserved this dialect in its native purity. He has been now for nearly thirty years in the class of polished society; he has for some years mixed amongst the highest orders in the state; he has had the honor to belong for thirty years to the first profession in the world — to the only profession, with the single exception, perhaps, of the military, to which a high-minded gentleman could condescend to belong — the Irish bar. To that bar at which he has seen and heard a Burgh, and a Duquery; at which he must have listened to a Burton, a Ponsonby, and a Curran; to a bar, which still contains a Plunkett, a Ball and, despite of politics, I will add, a Bushe. With this galaxy of glory flinging their light around him how can he alone have remained in darkness? How has it

happened that the twilight murkiness of his soul has not been illumined with a single ray shot from their lustre? Devoid of taste and of genius, how can he have had memory enough to preserve this original vulgarity? He is, indeed, an object of compassion, and from my inmost soul I bestow on him my forgiveness and my bounteous pity.

V. PLAIN ORATORICAL NARRATIONS.

American System . . . . . Henry Clay.

I have now to perform the more pleasing task of exhibiting an imperfect sketch of the existing state of unparalleled prosperity of the country. On a general survey, we behold cultivation extended, the arts flourishing, the face of the country improved, our people fully and properly employed, and the public countenance exhibiting tranquillity, contentment and happiness. And if we descend into particulars we have the agreeable contemplation of a people out of debt; land rising slowly in value, but in a secure and salutary degree; a ready though not extravagant market for all the surplus productions of our industry; innumerable flocks and herds, browsing and gamboling on ten thousand hills and plains covered with rich and verdant grasses; our cities expanded, and whole villages springing up, as it were by enchantment; our exports and imports increased and increasing; our tonnage, foreign and coastwise, swelling and fully occupied; the rivers of our interior animated by the perpetual thunder and lightning of countless steamboats; the currency sound and abundant; the public debt of two wars nearly redeemed; and to crown all, the public treasury overflowing, embarrassing Congress, not to find subject of taxation but to select the objects which shall be liberated by the impost. If the term of seven years were to be selected of the greatest prosperity which this people have enjoyed since the establishment of their present Constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the tariff of 1824.

Defence of the Kennistons . . . Daniel Webster.

The next part of the case is the conduct of the prosecutor in attempting to find out the robbers after he had recovered from

his illness. He suspected Mr. Pearson, a very honest, respectable man who keeps the tavern at the bridge. He searched his house and premises. He sent for a conjurer to come with his metallic rods and witch-hazel, to find the stolen money. Goodridge says now, that he thought he should find it if the conjurer's instruments were properly prepared. He professes to have full faith in the art. Was this folly or fraud, or a strange mixture of both? Pretty soon after the last search, gold pieces were actually found near Mr. Pearson's house, in the manner stated by the female witnesses. How came they there? Did the robber deposit them there? That is not possible. Did he accidentally leave them there? Why should not a robber take as good care of his money as others? It is certain, too, that the gold pieces were not put there at the time of the robbery, because the ground was then bare; but when these pieces were found there were several inches of snow below them. When Goodridge searched here with his conjurer he was on this spot, alone and unobserved, as he thought. Whether he did not, at that time drop his gold into the snow, the jury will judge. When he came to this search he proposed something very ridiculous. He proposed that all persons about to assist in the search should be examined, to see that they had nothing which they could put into Pearson's possession for the purpose of being found there. But how was this examination to be made? Why, truly, Goodridge proposed that every man should examine himself and that, among others, he would examine himself till he was satisfied he had nothing in his pockets which he could leave at Pearson's with the fraudulent design of being afterwards found there as evidence against Pearson. What construction would be given to such conduct?

As to Jackman, Goodridge went to New York and arrested him. In his room he says he found paper coverings of gold with his own figures upon them and pieces of an old and useless receipt, which he can identify, and which he had in his possession at the time of the robbery. He found these things lying on the floor in Jackman's room. What should induce the robbers, when they left all other papers, to take this re-

ceipt? And what should induce Jackman to carry it to New York, and keep it, with the coverings of the gold, in a situation where it was likely to be found and used as an evidence against him?

Impeachment of Warren Hastings . Edmund Burke.

My lords, when once a governor-general receives bribes, he gives a signal for universal pillage to all the inferior parts of the service. The bridles upon hard-mouthed passion are removed, they are taken away, they are broken; fear and shame, the great guards to virtue, next to conscience, are gone — shame! how can it exist? — it will soon blush away its awkward sensibility; shame, my lords, cannot exist long when it is seen that crimes which naturally bring disgrace are attended with all the outward symbols, characteristics, and rewards of honor and of virtue; when it is seen that high station, great rank, general applause, vast wealth, follow the commission of peculation and bribery, is it to be believed that men can long be ashamed of that which they see to be the road to honor? As to fear, let a governor-general once take bribes, there is an end of all fear in the service. What have they to fear? Is it the man whose example they follow, that is to bring them before a tribunal for punishment? Can he open any inquiry? he cannot: he that opens a channel of inquiry under these circumstances, opens a high road to his own detection. Can he make any laws to prevent it? none; for he can make no laws to restrain that practice without the breach of his own laws immediately in his own conduct. If we once can admit for a single instant, in a governor-general, a principle, however defended, upon any pretence whatever, to receive bribes in consequence of his office, there is an end of all virtue, an end of the laws, and no hope left in the supreme justice of the country.

I have already remarked to your lordships, that after the charge was brought and recorded in the council, in spite of the resistance made by Mr. Hastings, in which he employed all the power and authority of his station, and the whole body of his partisans and associates in iniquity, dispersed through every part of the provinces — after he had taken all these steps,

finding himself pressed by the proof and by the presumption of his resistance of the inquiry, he did think it necessary to make something like a defence. Accordingly he had made what he calls a justification, which did not consist in a denial of that fact or any explanation of it. The mode he took for his defence was abuse of his colleagues, abuse of the witnesses, and of every person who, in the execution of his duty, was inquiring into the fact; and charging them with things which, if true, were by no means sufficient to support him, either in defending the acts themselves, or the criminal means he used to prevent inquiry about them. His design was to mislead their minds, and to carry them from the accusation and the proof of it. With respect to the passion, violence and intemperate heat with which he charged them, they were proceeding in an orderly manner; and if on any occasion they seem to break out into warmth, it was not in consequence of that resistance which he made to them, in what your lordships, I believe, will agree with them in thinking was one of the most important parts of their functions. If they had been intemperate in their conduct, if they had been violent, passionate, prejudiced against him, it afforded him only a better means of making his defence; because, though in a rational and judicious mind, the intemperate conduct of the accuser certainly proves nothing with regard to the truth or falsehood of his accusation, yet we do know that the minds of men are so constituted that an improper mode of conducting a right thing does form some degree of prejudice against it. Mr. Hastings, therefore, unable to defend himself upon principle, has resorted as much as he possibly could to prejudice. And at the same time that this is not one word of denial, or the least attempt at refutation of the charge, he has loaded the records with all manner of minutes, proceedings, and letters relative to everything but the fact itself. The great aim of his policy, both then, before, and ever since has been to divert the mind of the auditory, or the persons to whom he addressed himself, from the nature of his cause to some collateral circumstance relative to it: a policy to which he always had recourse; but that trick, the last recourse of despairing guilt, I trust will now completely fail him.

Mr. Hastings, however, began to be pretty sensible that this way of proceeding had a very unpromising and untoward look; for which reason he next declared that he reserved his defence for fear of a legal prosecution, and that some time or other he would give a large and liberal explanation to the court of directors, to whom he was answerable for his conduct, of his refusal to suffer the inquiry to proceed — of his omitting to take any one natural step that an innocent man would have taken upon such an occasion. Under this promise, he has retained from that time to the time you see him at your bar, and he has neither denied, exculpated, explained or apologized for his conduct in any one single instance.

VI. DESCRIPTIVE ORATORICAL NARRATIONS.

The Boston Massacre . . . Joseph Warren.

The many injuries offered to the town, I pass over in silence. I cannot now mark out the path which led to that unequalled scene of horror, the sad remembrance of which takes the full possession of my soul. The sanguinary theatre again opens itself to view. The baleful images of terror crowd around me, and discontented ghosts, with hollow groans, appear to solemnize the anniversary of the fifth of March.

Approach we then the melancholy walk of death. Hither let me call the gay companion; here let him drop a farewell tear upon that body which so late he saw vigorous and warm with the social mirth; hither let me lead the tender mother to weep over her beloved son; come, widowed mourner, here satiate thy grief — behold thy murdered husband gasping on the ground, and to complete the pompous show of wretchedness, bring in each hand thy infant children to bewail their father's fate — take heed, ye orphan babes, lest, whilst your streaming eyes are fixed upon the ghastly corpse, your feet slide on the stones bespattered with your father's brain! Enough; this tragedy need not be heightened by an infant weltering in the blood of him that gave it birth. Nature, reluctant, shrinks already from the view, and the chilled blood rolls slowly backward to its fountain. We wildly stare about, and with amazement ask who spread this ruin around us? What wretch has

dared deface the image of his God? Has haughty France, or cruel Spain, sent forth her myrmidons? Has the grim savage rushed again from the far distant wilderness, or does some fiend, fierce from the depth of hell, with all the rancorous malice which the apostate damned can feel, twang the destructive bow, and hurl his deadly arrow at our breast? No, none of these — but, how astonishing! it is the hand of Britain that inflicts the wound! The arms of George, our rightful king, have been employed to shed that blood, ever at his command, when justice or the honor of his crown, has called his subjects to the field.

But pity, grief, astonishment, with all the softer movements of the soul, must now give way to stronger passions. Say, fellow-citizens, what dreadful thought now swells your heaving bosoms; you fly to arms — sharp indignation flashes from each eye — revenge gnashes her iron teeth — death grins a hideous smile, secure to drench his greedy jaws in human gore — whilst hovering furies darken all the air!

But stop, my bold adventurous countrymen; stain not your weapons with the blood of the Britons. Attend to reason's voice; humanity puts in her claim, and sues to be again admitted to her wonted seat, the bosom of the brave. Revenge is far beneath the noble mind. Many, perhaps, compelled to rank among the vile assassins, do from their inmost souls detest the barbarous action. The winged death, shot from your arms, may chance to pierce some breast that already bleeds for your injured country.

The storm subsides — a solemn pause ensues — you spare — upon condition they depart. They go — they quit your city — they no more shall give offence. Thus closes the important drama.

And could it have been conceived that we again should have seen a British army in our land, sent to enforce obedience to acts of Parliament destructive of our liberty? But the royal ear, far distant from this western world, has been assaulted by the tongue of slander; and villains, traitorous alike to king and country, have prevailed upon a gracious prince to clothe his countenance with wrath, and to erect the hostile

banner against a people ever affectionate and loyal to him and his illustrious predecessors of the House of Hanover. Our streets are again filled with armed men ; our harbor is crowded with ships of war ; but these cannot intimidate us ; our liberty must be preserved ; it is far dearer than life — we hold it ever dear as our allegiance ; we must defend it against the attacks of friends as well as enemies ; we cannot suffer even Britons to ravish it from us.

No longer could we reflect with generous pride on the heroic actions of our American forefathers — no longer boast our origin from that far-famed island whose warlike sons have so often drawn their well-tried swords to save her from the ravages of tyranny, could we, but for a moment, entertain the thought of giving up our liberty. The man who meanly submits to wear a shackle, contemns the noblest gift of heaven, and impiously affronts the God that made him free.

The Trial of John F. Knapp . . Daniel Webster.

An aged man, without an enemy in the world, in his own house, and in his own bed, is made the victim of a butcherly murder, for mere pay. Truly here is a lesson for painters and poets. Whoever shall hereafter draw the portrait of murder, if he will show it as it has been exhibited in an example, where such example was last to have been looked for, in the very bosom of our New England society ; let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate, and the bloodshot eyes emitting livid fires of malice. Let him draw rather a decorous, smooth-faced, bloodless demon ; a picture in repose, rather than in action ; not so much an example of human nature in its depravity, and in its paroxyms of crime, as an infernal nature, a fiend in the ordinary display and development of his character.

The deed was executed with a degree of self-possession and steadiness, equal to the wickedness with which it was planned.

The circumstances, now clearly in evidence, spread out the whole scene before us. Deep sleep had fallen on the destined victim, and on all beneath his roof. A healthful old man, to whom sleep was sweet, the first sound slumbers of the night

held him in their soft but strong embrace. The assassin enters, through the window already prepared, into an unoccupied apartment. With noiseless foot he paces the lonely hall, half lighted by the moon; he winds up the ascent of the stairs, and reaches the door of the chamber. Of this, he moves the lock, by soft and continued pressure, till it turns on its hinges without noise; and he enters, and beholds his victim before him. The room was uncommonly open to the admission of light. The face of the innocent sleeper was turned from the murderer, and the beams of the moon, resting on the gray locks of his aged temple, showed him where to strike. The fatal blow is given! and the victim passes, without a struggle or a motion, from the repose of sleep to the repose of death! It is the assassin's purpose to make sure work, and he plies the dagger, though it was obvious that life had been destroyed by the blow of the bludgeon. He even raises the aged arm, that he may not fail in his aim at the heart, and replaces it again over the wounds of the poinard! To finish the picture, he explores the wrist for the pulse! He feels for it and ascertains that it beats no longer! It is accomplished. The deed is done. He retreats, retraces his steps to the window, passes out through it as he came in, and escapes. He has done the murder — no eye has seen him, no ear has heard him. The secret is his own, and it is safe!

Ah! gentlemen, that was a dreadful mistake. Such a secret can be safe nowhere. The whole creation of God has neither nook nor corner where the guilty can bestow it and say it is safe. Not to speak of that eye which glances through all disguises, and beholds everything as in the splendor of noon — such secrets of guilt are never safe from detection, even by men. True it is, generally speaking, that "murder will out." True it is, that Providence hath so ordained, and doth so govern things, that those who break the great law of heaven by shedding man's blood, seldom succeed in avoiding discovery. Especially, in a case exciting so much attention as this, discovery must come, and will come, sooner or later. A thousand eyes turn at once to explore every man, every thing, every circumstance connected with the time and place; a

thousand ears catch every whisper ; a thousand excited minds intensely dwell on the scene, shedding all their light, and ready to kindle the slightest circumstance into a blaze of discovery. Meantime the guilty soul cannot keep its own secret. It is false to itself ; or rather it feels an irresistible impulse of concience to be true to itself. It labors under its guilty possession, and knows not what to do with it. The human heart was not made for the residence of such an inhabitant. It finds itself preyed upon by a torment which it dares not acknowledge to God nor man. A vulture is devouring it, and it can ask no sympathy or assistance, either from heaven or earth. The secret which the murderer possesses soon comes to possess him ; and like the evil spirits of which we read, it overcomes him, and leads him whithersoever it will. He feels it beating at his heart, rising to his throat, and demanding disclosure. He thinks the whole world sees it in his face, reads it in his eyes, and almost hears its workings in the very silence of his thoughts. It has become his master. It betrays his discretion, it breaks down his courage, it conquers his prudence. When suspicions from without begin to embarass him and the net of circumstance to entangle him, the fatal secret struggles with still greater violence to burst forth. It must be confessed, it will be confessed, there is no refuge from confession but suicide ; and suicide is confession.

The Impeachment of Warren Hastings . R. B. Sheridan.

Here, my Lords, is a man sent to execute one of the most dreadful offices that was ever executed by man ; to cut off, as he says himself, with a bleeding heart, the only remaining allowance made for hundreds of the decayed nobility and gentry of a great kingdom, driven by our government, from the offices upon which they existed. In this moment of anxiety and affliction, when he says he felt pain and was cut to the heart to do it, at this very moment, when he was turning over fourteen hundred of the ancient nobility and gentry of this country to downright want of bread, just at that moment while he was doing this act, and feeling this act in this manner, from the collected morsels forced from the mouths of that indigent and

famished nobility, he gorged his own ravenous maw with an allowance of two hundred pounds a day for his entertainment. As we see him in this business this man is unlike any other; he is also never corrupt but he is cruel, he never dines without creating a famine; he does not take from the loose superfluity of standing greatness, but falls upon the indigent, the oppressed and ruined; he takes to himself double what would maintain them. He is unlike the generous rapacity of the noble eagle, who preys upon a living, struggling, reluctant, equal victim; his is like that of the ravenous vulture, who falls upon the decayed, the sickly, the dying, and the dead, and only anticipates nature in the destruction of its object. His cruelty is beyond his corruption, but there is something in his hypocrisy which is more terrible than his cruelty; for at the very time when with double and unsparing hands he executes a proscription and sweeps off the food of hundreds of the nobility and gentry of a great country, his eyes overflow with tears; and he turns the precious balm that bleeds from wounded humanity, and is the best medicine, into fatal, rancorous, mortal poison to the human race.

You have seen that when he takes two hundred pounds a day for his entertainment, he tells you that in this very act he is starving fourteen hundred of the ancient nobility and gentry. My lords, you have the blood of nobles, if not, you have the blood of men in your veins; you feel as nobles, you feel as men. What would you say to a cruel Mogul exacter, by whom, after having been driven from your estates, driven from the noble offices, civil and military, which you hold, driven from your bishoprics, driven from your places at court, driven from your offices as judges, and after having been reduced to a miserable flock of pensioners, your very pensions were at last wrested from your mouths; and who, though at the very time when these pensions were wrested from you he declares them to have been the only bread of a miserable, decayed nobility, takes himself two hundred pounds a day for his entertainment, and continues it until it amounts to sixteen thousand pounds. I do think, that of all the corruptions which he has not owned, but has not denied, or of those which he does

in effect own, and of which he brings forward the evidence himself, the taking and claiming under color of an entertainment is ten times the most nefarious.

VII. CONFIRMATIONS OR PROOFS.

Against Adjourning Parliament . . Lord Chatham.

It is not with less grief than astonishment I hear the motion now made by the noble earl, at a time when the affairs of this country present on every side prospects full of awe, terror and impending danger; when, I will be bold to say, events of a most alarming tendency, little expected or foreseen, will shortly happen; when a cloud that may crush this nation, and bury it in obscurity forever, is ready to burst and overwhelm us in ruin. At so tremendous a season, it does not become your Lordships, the great hereditary council of the nation, to neglect your duty, to retire to your country seats for six weeks in quest of joy and merriment, while the real state of public affairs calls for grief, mourning and lamentation — at least, for the fullest exertions of your wisdom. It is your duty, my Lords, as the grand hereditary council of the nation to advise your sovereign, to be the protectors of your country, to feel your own weight and authority. As hereditary counselors, as members of this House, you stand between the crown and the people. You are nearer the throne than the other branch of the legislature; it is your duty to surround and protect, to counsel and supplicate it. You hold the balance. It is your duty to see the weights are properly poised, that the balance remains even, that neither may encroach upon the other, and that the executive power may be prevented, by an unconstitutional exertion of even constitutional authority, from bringing the nation to destruction. My Lords, I fear we are arrived at the very brink of that state, and I am persuaded that nothing short of a spirited interposition on your part, in giving speedy and wholesome advice to your sovereign, can prevent the people from feeling beyond remedy the full effects of that ruin which ministers have brought upon us. These calamitous circumstances ministers have been the cause of; and shall we, in

such a state of things, when every moment teems with events productive of the most fatal narratives, shall we trust, during an adjournment of six weeks, to those men who have brought these calamities upon us, when perhaps our utter overthrow is plotting, nay, ripe for execution, without almost a possibility of prevention? Ten thousand brave men have fallen victims to ignorance and rashness. The only army you have in America may, by this time, be no more. This very nation remains no longer safe than its enemies think proper to permit. I do not augur ill. Events of a most critical nature may take place before our next meeting. Will your Lordships then, in such a state of things, trust to the guidance of men who in every step of this cruel, wicked war, from the very beginning, have proved themselves weak, ignorant and mistaken? I will not say, my Lords, nor do I mean anything personal, or that they have brought premeditated ruin on this country. I will not suppose that they foresaw what has since happened, but I do contend, my Lords, that their want of wisdom, their incapacity, their temerity in depending on their own judgment, or with their base compliances with the orders and dictates of others, perhaps caused by the influence or one or two individuals, have rendered them totally unworthy of your Lordship's confidence, of the confidence of Parliament, and those whose rights they are constitutional guardians of, the people at large. A remonstrance, my Lords, should be carried to the throne. The King has been deluded by his ministers. They have been imposed on by false information, or have, from motives best known to themselves, given apparent credit to what they have been convinced in their hearts was untrue. The nation has been betrayed into the ruinous measure of an American war by the arts of imposition, by their own credulity, through the means of false hopes, false pride and promised advantages of the most romantic and improbable nature.

My Lords, I do not wish to call your attention entirely to that point. I would fairly appeal to your own sentiments whether I can be justly charged with arrogance or presumption if I say, great and able as ministers think themselves, that all the wisdom of the nation is not confined to the narrow circle

of their petty cabinet. I might, I think, without presumption, say that your Lordships, as one of the branches of the legislalature, may be supposed as capable of advising your sovereign in the moment of difficulty and danger, as any lesser council, composed of a fewer number, and who, being already so fatally trusted, have betrayed a want of honesty or a want of talents. Is it, my Lords, within the utmost stretch of the most sanguine expectation, that the same men who have plunged you into your present perilous and calamitous situation are the proper persons to rescue you from it? No, my Lords, such an expectation would be preposterous and absurd. I say, my Lords, you are now specially called upon to interpose. It is your duty to forego every call of business and pleasure, to give up your whole time to inquire into past misconduct; to provide remedies for the present; to prevent future evils; to rest on your arms, if I may use the expression, to watch for the public safety; to defend and support the throne, and if Fate should so ordain it, to fall with becoming fortitude, with the rest of your fellow subjects, in the general ruin. I fear this last must be the result of this mad, unjust and cruel war. It is your Lordship's duty to do everything in your power that it shall not; but if it must be so, I trust your Lordships and the nation will fall gloriously.

Argument in Trial of John F. Knapp . Daniel Webster.

GENTLEMEN: Your whole concern should be to do your duty and leave consequences to take care of themselves. You will receive the law from the court. Your verdict, it is true, may endanger the prisoner's life; but then, it is to save other lives. If the prisoner's guilt has been shown and proven beyond all reasonable doubt, you will convict him. You are the judges of the whole case. You owe a duty to the public as well as to the prisoner at the bar. You cannot presume to be wiser than the law. Your duty is a plain, straightforward one. Doubtless we would all judge him in mercy. Towards him as an individual the law inculcates not hostility; but towards him if proved to be a murderer, the law, and the oaths you have taken, and public justice, demand that you do your duty. With consciences satisfied with the discharge of duty, no con-

sequences can harm you. There is no evil that we cannot either face or fly from, but the consciousness of duty disregarded. A sense of duty pursues us ever. It is omnipresent, like the Deity. If we take to ourselves the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, duty performed, or duty violated, is still with us: in the darkness as in the light our obligations are yet with us. We cannot escape their power, nor fly from their presence. They are with us in this life, will be with us at its close, and in that scene of inconceivable solemnity which lies yet farther onward, we shall still find ourselves surrounded by the consciousness of duty, to pain us wherever it has been violated, and to console us so far as God may have given us grace to perform it.

The Continuance of the Bank Charter . Daniel Webster.

I have thus, Sir, stated my opinions and discharged my duty. I see the country laboring, and struggling, and panting, under an enormous political evil. I propose a remedy which I am sure will afford relief if it be adopted, and which seems most likely to me to obtain support. And now, Sir, I put it to every member of Congress, how he can resist this measure unless by proposing another and a better. Who, among the agents and servants of the people assembled in these houses, is prepared, in the present distressed state of the country, to say that he will oppose everything and propose nothing? For one, Sir, I can only say that I have been driven to this proposition by an irresistible impulse of obligation to the country. If I had been suddenly called to my great reckoning in the other world, I should have felt that one duty was neglected if I had no expedient to recommend, no measure to propose, no hope to hold out to this suffering community. As to the success of this bill, Sir, or any other, I have only to repeat what I have so often said, that everything rests with the people themselves. In the distracted state of the public counsels any measure of relief can only be obtained by the decisive demand of the public will. By an exercise of executive power which I believe to be illegal, and which all must see to have been injurious, by an unrelenting adherence to the measure which

has been adopted in spite of all consequences, and by the force of those motives which influence men to support the measure, though they disapprove it, the country is brought to a condition such as it never before witnessed, and which it cannot long bear. But it is not a condition for despair. Nothing will ruin the country if the people themselves will undertake its safety; and nothing can save it if they leave that safety in any hands but their own. Would to God, Sir, that I could draw around me all the twelve millions of people! Would to God that I could speak audibly to every independent elector in the whole land! I would not say to them vainly and arrogantly that their safety and happiness require the adoption of any measure recommended by myself. But I would say to them with the sincerest conviction that ever animated man's heart, that their safety and happiness *do* require their own prompt and patriotic attention to the public concerns, their own honest devotion to the welfare of the state. I would say to them that neither this measure, nor any measure, can be adopted except by the cogent and persisting action of popular opinion. I would say to them that the public revenues cannot be restored to their accustomed custody, that they cannot again be placed under the control of Congress, that the violation of law cannot be redressed, but by manifestations, not to be mistaken, of public sentiment. I would say to them that the Constitution and the laws, their own rights and their own happiness, all depend on themselves; and if they esteem these of any value, if they were not too dearly bought by the blood of our fathers, if they be an inheritance fit to be transmitted to their posterity, I would beseech them, to come now to their salvation.

The Constitution and the Union . Daniel Webster.

And now, Mr. President, I draw these observations to a close. I have spoken freely and I meant to do so. I have sought to make no display. I have sought to enliven the occasion by no animated discussion, nor have I attempted any train of elaborate argument. I have wished only to speak my sentiments fully and at length, being desirous once and for all, to let the Senate know, and to let the country know, the senti-

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ments and opinions which I entertain on all these subjects. These opinions are not likely to be suddenly changed. If there be any future service which I can render the country consistently with these sentiments and opinions, I shall cheerfully render it. If there be not I shall still be glad to have an opportunity to disburden myself from the bottom of my heart, and to make known every political sentiment that therein exists.

And now, Mr. President, instead of speaking of the possibility or utility of secession, instead of dwelling in those caverns of darkness, instead of groping with those ideas that are so full of all that is horrid and horrible, let us come out into the light of day; let us enjoy the fresh air of Liberty and Union; let us cherish those hopes which belong to us; let us devote ourselves to those great objects that are fit for our consideration and action; let us raise our conceptions of the magnitude and the importance of the duties that devolve upon us; let our comprehension be as broad as the country for which we act, our aspirations as high as its certain destiny; let us not be pigmies in a case that calls for men. Never did there devolve on any generation of men, higher trusts than now devolve upon us, for the preservation of this Constitution and the harmony and peace of all who are destined to live under it. Let us make our generation one of the strongest and brightest links in the golden chain which is destined, I fondly believe, to grapple the people of all the states to this Constitution, for ages to come. We have a great, popular, constitutional government, guarded by law and by judicature, and defended by the affections of the whole people. No monarchial throne presses these states together, no iron chain of military power encircles them; they live and stand under a government, popular in its form, representative in its character, founded upon principles of equity, and so constructed, we hope, as to last forever. In all its history it has been beneficent; it has trodden down no man's liberty; it has crushed no state. Its daily respiration is liberty and patriotism; its yet youthful veins are full of enterprise, courage and honorable love of glory and renown. Large before, the country has now, by recent events, become vastly

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larger. This Republic now extends with a vast breadth across the whole continent. The two great seas of the world wash the one and the other shores. We realize on a mighty scale the beautiful description of the ornamented border of the buckler of Achilles: —

> "Now, the broad shield complete, the artist crowned
> With his last hand, and poured the ocean round;
> In living silver seemed the waves to roll,
> And beat the buckler's verge, and bound the whole."

Repeal of the Non-Importation Act . John C. Calhoun.

But it may be asked why not unite war and restrictions, and thus call the whole energy of the country into action? It is true that there is nothing impossible in such an union; but it is equally true, that what is gained to the latter is lost to the former; and, Sir, the reverse is also true,—that what is lost to restrictions is gained to the war. My objections to restrictions without war, equally hold against them in conjunction with it. Sir, I would prefer a single victory over the enemy, by land or sea, to all the good we shall ever derive from the continuation of the Non-Importation Act. I know not that it would produce an equal pressure on the enemy; but I am certain of what is of greater consequence — it would be accompanied by more salutary effects on ourselves. The memory of a Saratoga or Eutaw is immortal. It is there you will find the country's boast and pride, the inexhaustible source of great and heroic actions. But what will history say of restrictions? What examples worthy of imitation will it furnish posterity? What pride, what pleasure will our children find in the events of such times? Let me not be considered as romantic. This nation ought to be taught to rely on its own courage, its fortitude, its skill, and virtue, for protection. These are the only safeguards in the hour of danger. Man was endowed with those great qualities for his defense. There is nothing about him that indicates that he must conquer by enduring. He is not incrusted in a shell; he is not taught to rely on his insensibility, his passive suffering, for defense. No, no, it is on the invincible mind, on a magnanimous nature, that he ought to

rely. Herein lies the superiority of our kind ; it is these that make man lord of the world. It is the destiny of our condition that nations should rise above nations as they are endowed in a greater degree with these shining qualities. Sir, it is often repeated that if the Non-Importation Act is continued we shall have a speedy peace. I believe it not. I fear the delusive hope. It will debilitate the springs of war. It is for this reason in part, that I wish it repealed. It is the fountain of fallacious expectations. I have frequently heard another remark, with no small mortification, from some of those who have supported the war ; viz : that it is only by restrictions we can seriously affect our enemies. Why then declare war? Is it to be an appendage only of the Non-Importation Act? If so, I disclaim it. It is an alarming idea to be in a state of war, and not to rely on our courage or energy, but on a measure of peace. If the Non-Importation Act is our chief reliance, it will soon direct our council. Let us strike away this false hope ; let us call out the resources of the country for its protection. England will soon find that seven millions of freemen, with every material of war in abundance, are not to be despised with impunity. I would be full of hope if I saw our sole reliance placed on the vigorous prosecution of the war. But if we are to paralyze it, if we are to trust, in the moment of danger, to the operation of a system of peace, I greatly fear. If such is to be our course, I see not that we have bettered our condition. We have had a peace like a war. In the name of Heaven, let us not have the only thing that is worse — a war like a peace. I trust my fears will not be realized.

The Alien Bill . . . . . Edward Livingston.

The first section provides that it shall be lawful for the President "to order all such aliens, as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or shall have reasonable grounds to suspect are concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the government thereof, to depart out of the United States in such time as shall be expressed in such order."

Our government, Sir, is founded on the establishment of

those principles which constitute the difference between a free constitution and a despotic power; a distribution of the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers into several hands; a distribution strongly marked in the three first and great divisions of the Constitution. By the first, all legislative power is given to Congress; the second vests all the executive functions in the President; and the third declares that the judiciary powers shall be exercised by the supreme and inferior courts. Here then is a division of the governmental powers, strongly marked, decisively pronounced, and every breach of one or all of the branches, that tends to confound these powers, or alter their arrangement, must be destructive of the Constitution. Examine then, Sir, the bill on your table, and declare whether the few lines I have repeated from the first section, do not confound these fundamental powers of government, vest them all, in more unqualified terms, in one hand, and thus subvert the basis on which our liberties rest.

Legislative power prescribes the rule of action; the judiciary applies the general rule to particular cases; and it is the province of the executive to see that the laws are carried into full effect. In all free governments, these powers are exercised by different men, and their union in the same hand is the peculiar characteristic of despotism. If the same power that makes the law can construe it to suit his interest and apply it to gratify his vengeance, if he can go further and execute, according to his own passions, the judgment which he himself has pronounced upon his own construction of laws which he alone has made, what other features are wanted to complete the picture of tyranny? Yet all this and more is proposed to be done by this act; by it the President alone is empowered to make the law, to fix in his mind what acts, what words, thoughts, or looks, shall constitute the crime contemplated by the bill. He is not only authorized to make this law for his own conduct, but to vary it at pleasure, as every gust of passion, every cloud of suspicion shall agitate or darken his mind. The same power that formed the law then applies it to the guilty or innocent victim whom his own suspicions or the secret whisper of a spy have designated as its object. The President then having

construed and applied it, the same President is by the bill authorized to execute his sentence, in case of disobedience, by imprisonment during his pleasure. This then comes completely within the definition of despotism, an union of legislative, executive and judicial powers. But this bill, Sir, does not stop here; its provisions are a refinement upon despotism, and present an image of the most fearful tyranny. Even in despotisms, though the monarch legislates, judges and executes, yet he legislates openly; his laws, though oppressive, are known; they precede the offence, and every man who chooses may avoid the penalties of disobedience. Yet he judges and executes by proxy, and his private interests or passions do not inflame the mind of his deputy.

But here the law is so closely concealed in the same mind that gave it birth — the crime is "exciting the suspicions of the President" — that no man can tell what conduct will avoid that suspicion. A careless word, perhaps misrepresented or never spoken, may be sufficient evidence; a look may destroy, and an idle gesture may ensure punishment; no innocence can protect, no circumspection can avoid the jealousy of suspicion. Surrounded by spies, informers and all that infamous herd which fatten under laws like this, the unfortunate stranger will never know either of the laws of accusation, or of the judgment, until the moment it is put in execution: he will detest your tyranny, and fly from a land of delators, inquisitors and spies. This, Sir, is a refinement upon the detestable contrivance of the decemvirs. They hung the tables of their laws so high, that few could read them; a tall man, however, might reach, a short one might climb and learn their contents; but here the law is equally inaccessible to high and low, safely concealed in the breast of the author; no industry or caution can penetrate this recess and attain a knowledge of its provisions, nor even if they could, as the rule is not permanent, would it at all avail.

Increase of the Navy . . . . . Henry Clay.

The third description of force, worthy of consideration, is that which would be able to prevent any single vessel, of what-

ever metal, from endangering our whole coasting trade, blocking up our harbors, and laying under contribution our cities — a force competent to punish the insolence of a commander of any single ship, and to preserve in our own jurisdiction the inviolability of our peace and our laws. A force of this kind is entirely within the compass of our means at this time. Is there a reflecting man in the nation who would not charge Congress with a culpable neglect of its duty, if for the want of such a force, a single ship were to bombard one of our cities? Would not every honorable member of the committee inflict on himself the bitterest reproaches, if by failing to make an inconsiderable addition to our little gallant navy, a single British vessel should place New York under contribution? Yes, Sir, when the city is in flames, its wretched inhabitants begin to repent of their neglect in not providing engines and water-buckets. If we are not able to meet the wolves of the forest, shall we put up with the barking impudence of every petty cur that trips across our way? Because we cannot guard against every possible danger, shall we provide against none? I hope not. I had hardly expected that the instructing and humiliating lesson was so soon to be forgotten, which was taught us in the murder of Pierce, the attack on the Chesapeake, and the insult offered in the very harbor of Charleston, which the brave old fellow who commanded the fort in vain endeavoured to chastise.

The American System . . . . . Henry Clay.

When the gentlemen have succeeded in their design of an immediate or gradual destruction of the American system, what is their substitute? Free Trade! Free Trade! The call for Free Trade is as unavailing as the cry of a spoiled child in its nurse's arms, for the moon, or the stars that glitter in the firmament of heaven. It never has existed, it never will exist. Trade implies at least two parties. To be free, it should be fair, equal and reciprocal. But if we throw our ports wide open to the admission of foreign productions, free of all duty, what ports of any other nation shall we find open to the free admission of our surplus produce? We may break down all

barriers to free trade on our part, but the work will not be complete until foreign powers shall have removed theirs. There would be freedom on one side, and restriction, prohibitions, and exclusions on the other. The bolts and the bars and the chains of all other nations will remain undisturbed. It is, indeed, possible that our industry and commerce would accommodate themselves to this unequal and unjust state of things; for such is the flexibility of our nature, that it bends itself to all circumstances. The wretched prisoner, incarcerated in a jail, after a long time becomes reconciled to his solitude and regularly notches down the passing days of his confinement. Gentlemen deceive themselves. It is not Free Trade that they are recommending to our acceptance. It is, in effect, the British colonial system that we are invited to adopt; and if their policy prevail, it will lead substantially to the recolonization of these states, under the commercial dominion of Great Britain. And whom do we find some of the principal supporters, out of Congress, of this foreign system? Mr. President, there are some foreigners who always remain exotics, and never become naturalized in our country; while, happily, there are many others who readily attach themselves to our principles and our institutions. The honest, patient and industrious German readily unites with our people; establishes himself upon some of our fat lands, fills his capacious barn, and enjoys in tranquillity the abundant fruits which his diligence gathers around him; always ready to fly to the standard of his adopted country, or of its laws, when called by the duties of patriotism. The gay, the versatile, the philosophic Frenchman, accommodating himself cheerfully to all the vicissitudes of life, incorporates himself without difficulty in our society. But, of all foreigners, none amalgamate themselves so quickly with our people as the natives of the Emerald Isle. In some of the visions which have passed through my imagination, I have supposed that Ireland was originally part and parcel of this continent, and that by some extraordinary convulsion of nature it was torn from America, and by drifting across the ocean was placed in the unfortunate vicinity of Great Britain. The same open-heartedness, the

same generous hospitality, the same careless and uncalculating indifference to human life, characterizes the inhabitants of both countries. Kentucky has been sometimes called the Ireland of America. And I have no doubt, that if the current of emigration were reversed, and set from America upon the shores of Europe instead of bearing from Europe to America, every American emigrant to Ireland would there find, as every Irish emigrant here finds, a hearty welcome and a happy home!

To the Young Men of Albany . . Daniel Webster.

The Constitution of the United States! What is there on the whole earth; what is there that so fills the imaginations of men under heaven; what is there that the civilized, liberalized, liberty-loving people of the world can look at, and do look at, so much as that great and glorious instrument, held up to their contemplation, blazing over this Western Hemisphere, and darting its rays throughout the world — the Constitution of the United States of America! In Massachusetts, in New York, in Washington its ample folds are athwart the whole heavens. Are they not seen in all America, on all the continent of Europe, gazed at and honored in Russia, in Turkey, in the Indian seas, in all the countries of the Oriental World? What is it that makes you and me here, to-day, so proud as we are of the name of America? It is almost a miracle, the achievement of half a century, by wise men under propitious circumstances, acting from patriotic motives; a miracle achieved on earth and in view of all nations; the establishment of a government, taking hold on a great continent; covering ample space for fifty other governments; having twenty-five millions of people, intelligent, prosperous, brave, able to defend themselves against united mankind, and to bid defiance to the whole of them; a noble monument of republican honor and power and of republican success, that throws a shade, and sometimes a deep and black shade, over the monarchies and aristocracies and despotisms of Europe. Who is there, who is there from the poles to the Mediterranean, despot, aristocrat, autocrat, who is there that now dares to speak reproachfully or in tones of derogation of the government of the United States of

America? There is not one. And if we may judge, my friends, of the success of our system of government from the regard it attracts from all nations, we may flatter ourselves that in our primitive republicanism, in our representative system, in our departure from the whole feudal code and all the prerogatives of aristocratic and autocratic power, from all the show and pageantry of courts, we shall hold ourselves up like the face of the sun, not marred by inscription, but bright in glory and glittering in the sight of all men. And so we will stand, so shine; and when the time comes when I shall be gathered to my fathers, and you to yours, that eternal, unfading sun of American liberty and republicanism, as steady in its course as is the sun in the heavens, shall still pour forth its beams for the enlightenment of mankind.

Repeal of the Non-Importation Act . John C. Calhoun.

It now remains for me to touch on another and far more interesting topic; one which, I confess, has the principal weight in the formation of my opinions on this subject. The restrictive system, as a mode of resistance, and a means of obtaining a redress of our wrongs, has never been a favorite one with me. I wish not to censure the motives which dictated it, or to attribute weakness to those who first resorted to it for a restoration of our rights. Though I do not think the embargo a wise measure, yet I am far from thinking it a pusillanimous one. To lock up the whole commerce of this country, to say to the most trading and exporting people in the world, "You shall not trade,—you shall not export,"—to break in upon the schemes of almost every man in society, is far from weakness, very far from pusillanimity. Sir, I confess, while I disapprove this more than any other measure, it proves the strength of your government and the patriotism of the people. The arm of despotism, under similar circumstances, could not have coerced its execution more effectually than the patience and zeal of the people. But I object to the restrictive system; and for the following reasons:—Because it does not suit the genius of our people, or that of our government, or the geographical character of the country. We are a people essen-

tially active. I may say we are preëminently so. Distance and difficulties are less to us than to any people on earth. Our schemes and prospects extend everywhere and to everything. No passive system can suit such a people ; in action superior to all others ; in patience and endurance inferior to many. Nor does it suit the genius of our institutions. Our government is founded on freedom and hates coercion. To make the restrictive system effectual, requires the most arbitrary laws. England, with the severest penal statutes, has not been able to exclude prohibited articles ; and even Bonaparte, with all his power and vigilance, was obliged to resort to the most barbarous laws to enforce his continental system. Burning has furnished the only effectual remedy. The peculiar geography of our country, added to the freedom of its government, greatly increases the difficulty. With so great an extent of sea-coast, with so many rivers, bays, harbors and inlets, with neighboring English provinces which stretch for so great an extent along one of our frontiers, it is impossible to prevent smuggling to a large amount.

Besides there are other and strong objections to this system. It renders government odious. People are not in the habit of looking back beyond immediate causes. The farmer who inquires why he cannot get more for his produce, is told that it is owing to the embargo, or to commercial restrictions. In this he sees only the hands of his own government. He does not look to those acts of violence and injustice which this system is intended to counteract. His censures fall on his government. To its measures he attributes the cause of his embarrassments, and in their removal he expects his relief. This is an unhappy state of the public mind ; and even, I might with truth say, in a government resting essentially on opinion, a dangerous one. In war it is different. The privation, it is true, may be equal or greater ; but the public mind, under the strong impulses of such a state, becomes steeled against sufferings. The difference is great between the passive and active state of mind. Tie down a hero, and he feels the puncture of a pin ; but throw him into battle and he is scarcely sensible of vital gashes. So in war. Impelled alternately by hope and

fear, stimulated by revenge, depressed with shame, or elevated by victory,—the people become invincible. No privations can shake their fortitude, no calamity can break their spirit. Even where equally successful, the contrast is striking. War and restriction may leave the country equally exhausted; but the latter not only leaves you poor, but even when successful, dispirited, divided, discontented, with diminished patriotism, and the manners of a considerable portion of your people corrupted. Not so in war. In that state the common danger unites all, strengthens the bonds of society, and feeds the flame of patriotism. The national character acquires energy. In exchange for the expenses of war you obtain military and naval skill, and a more perfect organization of such parts of your government as are connected with the science of national defense. You also obtain the habits of freely advancing your purse and strength in the common cause. Sir, are these advantages to be counted as trifles in the present state of the world? Can they be measured by a moneyed valuation?

Repeal of the Direct Tax . . John C. Calhoun.

I am aware of the danger of large standing armies and I know that the militia constitutes the true force of the country; that no nation can be safe, at home and abroad, which has not an efficient militia; but the term of service ought to be enlarged, to enable them to acquire a knowledge of the duties of the camp, and to allow the habits of civil life to be broken. For although militia freshly drawn from their homes, may in a moment of enthusiasm do a great service, as at New Orleans, yet, in general, they are not calculated for service in the field until time is allowed them to acquire habits of discipline and subordination. On land your defense ought to depend on a regular draught from the body of the people. You will thus in time of war, dispense with the business of recruiting, a mode of defending the country every way uncongenial with our republican institutions. Uncertain, slow in its operation and expensive, it draws from society only its worst materials, introducing into our army, of necessity, all the severities which are exercised in that of the most despotic governments. Thus

composed, our armies in a great degree lose that enthusiasm with which citizen soldiers, conscious of liberty and fighting in defense of their country, have ever been animated. All the free nations of antiquity intrusted the defense of the country, not to the dregs of society, but to the body of its citizens; and hence that heroism, which nations in modern times may admire but cannot equal. I know that I utter truths unpleasant to those who wish to enjoy liberty without making the efforts necessary to secure it. Her favor is never won by the cowardly, the vicious, or indolent. It has been said by some physicians, that life is a forced state. The same may be said of freedom. It requires effort, it presupposes mental and moral qualities of a high order to be generally diffused in the society where it exists. It mainly stands on the faithful discharge of two great duties which every citizen of the proper age owes to the Republic; a wise and virtuous exercise of the right of suffrage, and a prompt and brave defense of the country in the hour of danger. The first symptom of decay has ever appeared in the backward and negligent discharge of the latter duty. Those who were acquainted with the historians and orators of antiquity know the truth of this assertion. The least decay of patriotism, the least verging toward pleasure and luxury, will there immediately discover itself. Large standing and mercenary armies then become necessary, and those who are unwilling to render the military service adequate to the defense of their rights, soon find, as they ought to do, a master. It is the order of nature, and cannot be reversed. The plan I propose will at once put an efficient force into your hands, and render you secure. I cannot agree with those who think we are free from danger, and need not prepare for it because we have no nation to dread in our immediate neighborhood. Recollect that the nation with whom we have recently terminated a severe conflict lives on the bosom of the deep; that although three thousand miles of ocean intervene between us, she can attack you with as much facility as if she had but two or three hundred miles over land to march. She is as near to you as if she occupied Canada instead of the British Isles. You have the power of assailing, as well as of being

assailed; her provinces border on your territory, the dread of losing which, if you are prepared to attack them, will contribute to that peace which every honest man is anxious to maintain as long as possible.

VIII. REFUTATION.

Vindication of the Colonies . . . James Wilson.

I beg leave to mention and to obviate some plausible but ill-founded objections that have been, and will be, held forth by our adversaries, against the principles of the resolution now before us. It will be observed that those employed for bringing about the proposed alteration in the charter and constitution of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, act by virtue of a commission for that purpose from his majesty; that all resistance of forces commissioned by his majesty is resistance of his majesty's authority and government, contrary to the duty of allegiance, and treasonable. These objections will be displayed in their most specious colors, every artifice of chicanery and sophistry will be put in practice to establish them, law authorities perhaps will be quoted and tortured to prove them. These principles of our Constitution which were designed to preserve and secure the liberty of the people, and for the sake of that, the tranquillity of the government, will be perverted on this, as they have been on many other occasions, from their true intention, and will be made use of for the contrary purpose of endangering the latter, and destroying the former. The names of the most exalted virtues on one hand, and of the most atrocious crimes on the other, will be employed in direct contradiction to the nature of those virtues and those crimes, and in this manner those who cannot look beyond names will be deceived, and those whose aim it is to deceive by names will have an opportunity of accomplishing it. But, Sir, this disguise will not impose upon us; we will look to things as well as to names, and by doing so we shall be fully satisfied that all those objections rest upon mere verbal sophistry and have not even the remotest alliance with the principles of reason or of law. In the first place, then, I say, that the persons who allege that those

employed to alter the charter and constitution of Massachusetts Bay, act by virtue of a commission from his majesty for that purpose, speak improperly and contrary to the truth of the case. I say they act by virtue of no such commission. What is called a commission either contains particular directions for the purpose mentioned, or it contains no such particular directions. In either case, can those who act for that purpose, act by virtue of a commission? In one case what is called a commission is void; it has no legal existence; it can communicate no authority. In the other case, it extends not to the purpose mentioned. The latter point is too plain to be insisted on; I prove the former. "*Id rex potest*," says the law "*quod de jure potest.*" The king's power is a power according to law. His commands, if the authority of the Lord Chief Justice Hale may be depended upon, are under the directive power of the law, and consequently invalid if unlawful. "Commissions," says my Lord Coke, "are legal and are like the king's writs;" "and none are lawful but such as are allowed by the common law, or warranted by some act of Parliament." Let us examine any commission expressly directing those to whom it is given, to use military force for carrying into execution the alterations proposed to be made in the charter and constitution of Massachusetts Bay, by the foregoing maxims and authorities, and what we have said concerning it will appear obvious and conclusive. It is not warranted by any act of Parliament, because, as has been mentioned on this, and has been proved on other occasions, any such act is void. It is not warranted, and I believe it will not be pretended that it is warranted, by the common law. It is not warranted by the royal prerogative because as has already been fully shown, it is diametrically opposite to the principles and the ends of prerogative. Upon what foundation then can it lean, and be supported? Upon none. Like an enchanted castle, it may terrify those whose eyes are affected by the magic influence of the sorcerers, despotism, and slavery; but so soon as the charm is dissolved, and the genuine rays of liberty and of the Constitution, dart in upon us, the formidable appearance vanishes, and we discover that it was the baseless fabric of a vision that never had any real existence.

Increase of the Army . . . . John C. Calhoun.

We are next told of the dangerous war. I believe we are all ready to acknowledge its hazards and misfortunes; but I cannot have any extraordinary danger to apprehend, at least none to warrant an acquiescence in the injuries we have received. On the contrary, I believe no war can be less dangerous to the internal peace or safety of the country. But we are told of the black population of the Southern States. As far as the gentleman from Virginia speaks of his own personal knowledge, I shall not question the correctness of his statement. I only regret that such is the state of apprehension in his particular part of the country. Of the Southern section, I too have some personal knowledge, and can say that in South Carolina no such fears in any part are felt. But, Sir, admit the gentleman's statement, will a war with Great Britain increase the danger? Will the country be less able to suppress insurrection? Had we anything to fear from that quarter (which I do not believe), in my opinion the period of the greatest safety is during a war, unless indeed the enemy should make a lodgment in the country. Then the country is most on its guard, our militia the best prepared, and our standing army the largest. Even in our Revolution no attempts at insurrection were made by that portion of our population; and however the gentleman may alarm himself with the disorganizing effects of the French principles, I cannot think our ignorant blacks have felt much of their baneful influence. I dare say more than half of them never heard of the French Revolution. But as great as he regards the danger from our slaves, the gentleman's fears end not there; the standing army is not less terrible to him. Sir, I think a regular force raised for a period of actual hostilities cannot be properly called a standing army. There is a just distinction between such a force and one raised as a permanent peace establishment. Whatever would be the composition of the latter I hope the former will consist of some of the best materials of the country. The ardent patriotism of our young men and the reasonable bounty in land, which is proposed to be given will impel them to join the country's standard and to fight her battles; they will not forget the citizen in the soldier, and in obeying their officers

learn to contemn their government and constitution. In our officers and soldiers we will find patriotism no less pure and ardent than in the private citizen ; but if they should be depraved, as represented, what have we to fear from twenty-five thousand or thirty thousand regulars ? Where will be the boasted militia of the gentlemen ? Can one million of militia be overpowered by thirty thousand regulars ? If so, how can we rely on them against a foe invading our country ? Sir, I have no such contemptuous idea of our militia ; their untaught bravery is sufficient to crush all foreign and internal attempts on their country's liberties. But we have not yet come to the end of the chapter of dangers. The gentleman's imagination, so fruitful on this subject, conceives that our Constitution is not calculated for war, and that it cannot stand its rude shock. This is rather extraordinary. If true, we must then depend upon the commiseration or contempt of other nations for our existence. The Constitution then it seems has failed in an important object — " to provide for the common defense." No, says the gentleman from Virginia, it is competent for an offensive but not a defensive war. It is not necessary for me to expose the error of this opinion. Why make the distinction in this instance ? Will he pretend to say that this is an offensive war, a war of conquest ? Yes, the gentleman has dared to make this assertion and for reasons no less extraordinary than the assertion itself. He says our rights are violated on the ocean and that these violations affect our shipping and commercial rights, to which the Canadas have no relation. The doctrine of relation has been much abused of late by an unreasonable extension ; we have now to witness a new abuse. The gentleman from Virginia has limited it down to a point. By this rule if you receive a blow on the breast you dare not return it on the head, you are obliged to measure and return it on the precise point on which it was received. If you do not proceed with this mathematical accuracy it ceases to be just self-defense ; it becomes an unprovoked attack. In speaking of Canada the gentleman from Virginia introduced the name of Montgomery with much feeling and interest. Sir, there is danger in that name to the gentleman's argument. It is sacred to heroism. It is indignant of submis-

sion! It calls our memory back to the time of our Revolution, to the Congress of '74 and '75. Suppose a member of that day had risen and urged all the arguments which we have heard on this subject, had told that Congress — your contest is about the right of laying a tax and that the attempt on Canada had nothing to do with it; that the war would be expensive; that danger and devastation would overspread our country and that the power of Great Britain was irresistible. With what sentiment, think you would such doctrine have been heard? Happily for us they had no force at that period of our country's glory. Had such been then acted on, this hall would never have witnessed a great people convened to deliberate on the general good, a mighty empire with prouder prospects than any nation the sun ever shone on, would not have risen in the west. No, we would have been base, subjected colonies, governed by that imperious rod which Britain holds over her distant provinces.

Characteristics of the Age . . . Joseph Story.

There is one objection, however, on which I would for a moment dwell, because it has a commanding influence over many minds, and is clothed with a specious importance. It is often said that there have been eminent men and eminent writers to whom the ancient languages were unknown; men who have risen by the force of their own talents, and writers who have written with a purity and ease which hold them up as models for imitation. On the other hand it is as often said that scholars do not always compose either with elegance or chasteness; that their diction is sometimes loose and harsh and sometimes ponderous and affected. Be it so; I am not disposed to call in question the accuracy of either statement. But I would nevertheless say that the presence of classical learning, was not the cause of the faults of the one class, nor the absence of it the cause of excellence of the other. And I would put this fact as an answer to all such reasonings, that there is not a single language of modern Europe in which literature has made any considerable advances, which is not directly of Roman origin or has not incorporated into its very structure, many, very many of the idioms and peculiarities of the ancient tongues.

The English language affords a strong illustration of the truth of this remark. It abounds with words and meanings drawn from classical sources. Innumerable phrases retain the symmetry of their ancient dress. Innumerable expressions have received their vivid tints from the beautiful dyes of Roman and Grecian roots. If scholars therefore do not write our language with ease or purity or elegance the cause must lie somewhat deeper than a conjectural ignorance of its true diction.

But I am prepared to yield still more to the force of the objection. I do not deny that a language may be built up without the aid of any foreign materials, and be at once flexible for speech and graceful for composition; that the literature of a nation may be splendid and instructive, full of interest and beauty in thought and diction which has no kindred with classic learning; that in the vast stream of time it may run its own current unstained by the admixture of surrounding languages; that it may realize the ancient fable "*Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam*" that it may retain its own flavor, and its own bitter saltness too. But I do deny that such a national literature does in fact exist in modern Europe, in that community of nations of which we form a part and to whose fortunes and pursuits in literature and arts we are bound by all our habits and feelings and interests. There is not a single nation from the north to the south of Europe, from the bleak shores of the Baltic, to the bright plains of immortal Italy, whose literature is not embedded in the very elements of classical learning. The literature of England is in an emphatic sense the production of her scholars; of men who have cultivated letters in her universities and colleges and grammar schools; of men who thought any life too short, chiefly because it left some relic of antiquity unmastered, and any other fame humble because it faded in the presence of Roman and Grecian genius. He who studies English literature without the lights of classical learning loses half the charms of its sentiment and style, of its force and feeling, of its delicate touches, of its delightful allusions, of its illustrative associations. Who that reads the poetry of Gray does not feel that it is the refinement of classical taste which gives such inexpressible vividness and transparency to

his diction? Who that reads the concentrated sense and melodious versification of Dryden and Pope does not perceive in them the disciples of the old school, whose genius was inflamed by the heroic verse, the terse satire, the playful wit of antiquity. Who that meditates over the strains of Milton does not feel that he drunk deep at

"Siloa's brook, that flowed
Fast by the oracle of God,"

that the fires of his magnificent mind were lighted by coals from ancient altars.

Increase of the Military Force . . Henry Clay.

England is said to be fighting for the world, and shall we, it is asked, attempt to weaken her exertions? If, indeed, the aim of the French Emperor be universal dominion (and I am willing to allow it to the argument) how much nobler a cause is presented to British valor! But how is her philanthropic purpose to be achieved? By a scrupulous observance of the rights of others, by respecting that code of public law, which she professes to vindicate, and by abstaining from self-aggrandizement. Then would she command the sympathies of the world. What are we required to do by those who would engage our feelings and wishes in her behalf? To bear the actual cuffs of her arrogance, that we may escape a chimerical French subjugation! We are invited, conjured, to drink the potion of the British poison actually presented to our lips, that we may avoid the imperial dose prepared by perturbed imaginations. We are called upon to submit to debasement, dishonor and disgrace; to bow the neck to royal insolence, as a course of preparation for manly resistance to Gallic invasion! What nation, what individual, was ever taught, in the school of ignominious submission, these patriotic lessons of freedom and independence? Let those who contend for this humiliating doctrine, read its refutation in the history of the very man against whose insatiable thirst for dominion we are warned. The experience of desolated Spain for the last fifteen years is worth volumes. Did she find her repose and safety in subserviency to the will of that man? Had she boldly stood forth

and repelled the first attempt to dictate to her councils, her monarch would not be now a miserable captive in Marseilles. Let us come home to our own history; it was not by submission that our fathers achieved our independence. The patriotic wisdom that placed you, Mr. Chairman, under that canopy, penetrated the designs of a corrupt ministry, and nobly fronted encroachment on its first appearance. It saw beyond the petty taxes with which it commenced a long train of oppressive measures terminating in the total annihilation of liberty, and, contemptible as they were, it did not hesitate to resist them.

Impeachment of Warren Hastings . Edmund Burke.

The paragraph has just been read to you. It amounts to this: "I have taken many bribes — have falsified your accounts — have reversed the principal of them in my own favor; I now discover to you all these, my frauds, and think myself entitled to your confidence upon this occasion." Now all the principles of diffidence; all the principles of distrust; nay more, all the principles upon which a man may be convicted of premeditated fraud, and deserve the severest punishment, are to be found in this case, in which he says he holds himself to be entitled to their confidence and trust. If any of your lordships had a steward, who told you he had lent you your own money, and had taken bonds for it, and if he afterwards told you, that that money was neither yours nor his, but extorted from your tenants by some scandalous means, I should be glad to know what your lordships would think of such a steward, who should say, "I will take the freedom to add that I think myself, on such a subject, on such an occasion, entitled to your confidence and trust." You will observe his cavalier mode of expression. Instead of his exhibiting the rigor and severity of an accountant and a book-keeper, you would think that he had been a reader of sentimental letters; there is such an air of a novel running through the whole, that it adds to the ridicule and nausea of it; it is an oxymel of squills; there is something to strike you with horror for the villany of it, and something to strike you with contempt for the fraud of it;

and something to strike you with utter disgust for the vile and bad taste with which all these base ingredients are assorted.

Your lordships will see, when the account which is subjoined to this unaccountable letter comes before you, that though the company had desired to know the channels through which he got those sums, there is not (except by a reference that appears in another place to one of the articles) one single syllable of explanation given from one end to the other; there is not the least glimpse of light thrown upon these transactions.

The Catholic Question . . . Henry Grattan.

The objection that the Irish are below the privileges that emancipation would confer, I scorn to answer. You should answer it; for that argument would say that you governed the Irish so ill, as to have put them below the blessings of a free constitution. They want bread, it is said, and not liberty; and then you leave them without bread and without liberty; and here your conduct is as inconsistent as your assertion is unwarrantable. You give the elective franchise to the people so described, and you refuse the representative to those who are not pretended to come within that description. The objection that Roman Catholics do not love liberty, I despise equally. What! in these walls to say so! in these walls that have witnessed the confirmation of Magna Charta thirty times, and in this city whose tower guards that great sacred instrument of liberty! There are now extant of those who trace themselves to the signature of the Charter, three families; they are Roman Catholics, they are petitioners, and they desire to share that liberty which their ancestors gave to the people of England.

It is said that the Roman Catholics do not take the oath of supremacy and their allegiance is imperfect; make it perfect then and explain the oath of supremacy as I have already mentioned, and then the Roman Catholics will take it. Their allegiance is as perfect now as it was before the Reformation, and then it was found sufficient. Their allegiance is as perfect as that of Austria, that of France, or that of any other

country that acknowledges the spiritual power of the Pope; that is of all Catholic countries. The people of those countries afford a conditional allegiance, allegiance for protection; and yet their allegiance is found sufficient. The Presbyterians do not acknowledge the king to be the head of the church, and yet their allegiance is found sufficient. The Roman Catholics are said to carry their allegiance too far, and instead of a perfect, to render the king an abject, allegiance. We prefer contradictory charges against them; the one would suppose them to be rebels, and the other to be slaves; the Roman Catholics are neither. We owe an allegiance to God which is perfectly consistent with our allegiance to the state, and an allegiance to our free constitution which is perfectly consistent with our allegiance to the king. Do you think our allegiance would be more perfect if we thought the king a great doctor of divinity, or like Henry VIII, a tyrant who could change our religion without understanding it? When they desire allegiance to the king without a rival, they would strike the constitution out of our state, and God out of our religion.

IX. PERORATIONS.

The Boston Massacre . . . Joseph Warren.

Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of. Our enemies are numerous and powerful, but we have many friends determining to be free, and heaven and earth will aid the resolution. On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important question on which rests the happiness and liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves. The faltering tongue of hoary age calls on you to support your country. The lisping infant raises its suppliant hands imploring defense against the monster slavery. Your fathers look from their celestial seats with smiling approbation on their sons who boldly stand forth in the cause of virtue; but sternly frown upon the inhuman miscreant, who, to secure the loaves and fishes to himself would breed a serpent to destroy his children. But pardon me my fellow-citizens, I know you want not zeal or fortitude. You will maintain your rights or perish in the generous struggle. However difficult the com-

bat, you will never decline it, when freedom is the prize. An independence of Great Britain is not our aim. No, our wish is, that Britain and the colonies may, like the oak and ivy, grow and increase in strength together. But whilst the infatuated plan, of making one part of the empire slaves to the other, is persisted in, the interests and safety of Great Britain as well as the colonies, require that the wise measures recommended by the honorable, the Continental Congress, be steadily pursued; whereby the unnatural contest between a parent honored and a child beloved, may probably be brought to such an issue as that the peace and happiness of both may be established upon a lasting basis. But if these pacific measures are ineffectual, and it appears that the only way to safety is through fields of blood, I know you will not turn your faces from your foes, but will undauntedly press forward until tyranny is trodden under foot, and you have fixed your adored goddess Liberty, fast by a Brunswick's side, on the American throne. You then who have nobly espoused your country's cause, who generously have sacrificed wealth and ease, who have despised the pomp and show of tinselled greatness, refused the summons to the festive board, been deaf to the alluring calls of luxury and mirth, who have forsaken the downy pillow, to keep your vigils by the midnight lamp for the salvation of your invaded country, that you might break the fowler's snare and disappoint the vulture of his prey — you then will reap that harvest of renown which you have so justly deserved. Your country shall pay her grateful tribute of applause. Even the children of your most inveterate enemies, ashamed to tell from whom they sprang, while they, in secret, curse their stupid, cruel parents, shall join in the general voice of gratitude to those who broke the fetters which their fathers forged. Having redeemed your country, and secured the blessing to future generations, who, fired by your example, shall emulate your virtues, and learn from you the heavenly art of making millions happy; with heartfelt joy, with transports all your own, you cry, "the glorious work is done;" then drop the mantle to some young Elisha and take your seats with kindred spirits in your native skies!

Goodwin's Trial . . . Thomas Addis Emmet.

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY: I am the last to address you on behalf of my client, and I must now commit his worldly prospects, his character, his happiness, and fate on earth to the adverse observations of most able counsel, and to the deliberations of your judgments. At the time of life at which most of you have arrived, I cannot hope successfully to call on you as perhaps I might on younger men, and entreat you to commune with your own hearts, and to consider the failings and the frailties of youth. I scarcely dare say to you that the indiscretions of a young man often result from the noblest elements of our nature; that God has given to him warm blood, a sanguine temperament, and ardent spirit; that nature will occasionally have its course, and that the workings of nature must be indulgently and mercifully viewed by all who are made by nature and God. I fear your opinions may be too severe for such an appeal, and that there is no point of contact between you and the unfortunate prisoner at the bar, by which I can hope to awaken your sympathies. But there surely is — some of you must be fathers. Has anyone among you a son, noble, brave and generous, whom you love with all a father's fondness, who is the delight and pride of his mother's heart, and lovely in the eyes of his sisters? Think on him. He may be involved by the hasty error of a moment, or by the precipitancy of another, in one of those terrible conflicts which the noblest and the bravest cannot always avoid. If you have such a son, my eloquent adversaries, who are to speak when I must be silent may perhaps place him before your eyes, and make a parallel between his fate and that of Stoughton. If so, I must submit to it. But let me conjure you, that even the tender feelings they may incite, may not estrange your hearts from mercy. Remember, also, that if he should be engaged in such a deadly contest, he may not be so fortunate as to close his eyes, and escape from the sorrows, the calamities, the miseries, and the agonies of life. He may be the wretched survivor, that guiltless of any evil intent, he may be doomed to nourish in his bosom a never-ending pang; you may hear him exclaim to you in the depths of grief, as that young man has to myself,

"Would to God I were in Stoughton's place!" He may stand accused in that very box, surrounded by the fears and anxious wishes, but I trust in God protected by the prayers of a devoted and distracted mother, and of his agonized sisters.

He may stand in that box, and you may occupy from day to day that seat of torturing suspense which the gallant brother of my client has now filled for so many days. A jury may be called to pass upon his actions, and to devote to ignominy, one intended by nature to be an ornament to the community in which he lives, and whose heart is guiltless of any criminal design. But by what rules would you wish that son to be judged? Would it be by those rules, if any such there be of human contrivance, which are reckless of the innocence of man's intentions, which adjust offences by artificial reasonings, and constitute crimes from a guilt created by themselves; or that rule which comes direct from God, and by which he administers justice in mercy to all his creatures? Would you not entreat that his fellowmen might deal with him as you trust the general searcher of hearts will deal with him on the final judgment of us all? So do you by my client. If his intentions were base and wicked, I do not seek to save him, but I entreat you, try him by his intentions, as that judge will do who regards not technical distinctions, which are the offspring and proof of human weakness, whose all-seeing eye looks into the heart of man, and if that heart is guilty will condemn; but if innocent will acquit. I call upon you, now, and I only ask you to act with the prisoner as I hope the God of mercies will act, when you and he shall stand before that awful presence, you to answer for your verdict, and he for his indiscretions. Let your judgments be tempered by a portion of the Almighty's loveliest and divinest attribute. The rule by which he shall judge us as sinners, sheds a light of justice for your guidance, compared with which the learning of these books is darkness; and wherever they blindly depart from it, they are only filled with technical subtleties and metaphysical error. Like the God of wisdom and benevolence, attach crime to the intention, and to nothing else — absolve the innocent of heart, and when you return to the bar with your verdict, say to my client in the

blessed words of the redeeming Son of God — "Go, and sin no more!"

The Alien Bill . . . . . Edward Livingston.

I have now done, Sir; but before I sit down, let me entreat the gentlemen seriously to reflect, before they pronounce the decisive vote that gives the first open stab to the principles of our government. Our mistaken zeal, like the patriarch of old, has bound one victim; it lies at the foot of the altar; a sacrifice of the first-born offspring of freedom is proposed by those who gave it birth. The hand is already raised to strike, and nothing, I fear, but the voice of heaven can arrest the impious blow.

Let not the gentlemen flatter themselves that the fervor of the moment can make the people insensible to these aggressions. It is an honest, noble warmth, produced by an indignant sense of injury. It will never, I trust, be extinct while there is a proper cause to excite it. But the people of America, Sir, though watchful agnaist foreign aggressions, are not careless of domestic encroachment; they are as jealous, Sir, of their liberties at home, as of the power and prosperity of their country abroad; they will awake to a sense of their danger. Do not let us flatter ourselves, then, that these measures will be unobserved or disregarded; do not let us be told, Sir, that we excite a fervor against foreign aggressions only to establish tyranny at home; that like the arch traitor, we cry "Hail Columbia" at the moment we are betraying her to destruction; that we sing out "Happy land" when we are plunging it in ruin and disgrace, and that we are absurd enough to call ourselves "free and enlightened," while we advocate principles that would have disgraced the age of Gothic barbarity and establish a code, compared to which the ordeal is wise and the trial by *battel* is merciful and just.

Foote's Resolution . . . . . Daniel Webster.

MR. PRESIDENT, I have thus stated the reasons of my dissent from the doctrines which have been advanced and maintained. I am conscious of having detained you and the Senate much too

long. I was drawn into the debate, with no previous deliberation such as is suited to the discussion of so grave and important a subject. But it is a subject of which my heart is full, and I have not been willing to suppress the utterance of its spontaneous sentiments. I cannot, even now, persuade myself to relinquish it, without expressing once more my deep conviction, that, since it respects nothing less than the Union of the States, it is of most vital and essential importance to the public happiness. I profess, Sir, in my career hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country and the preservation of our federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce and ruined credit. Under its benign influences these great interests immediately awoke as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings ; and although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of natural, social and personal happiness. I have not allowed myself, Sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might be hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below ; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union should be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it shall be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate

the veil. God grant that in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind. When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union.

JOHN BRIGHT.

ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF ENGLAND; DELIVERED AT A BANQUET GIVEN IN HONOR OF MR. BRIGHT, AT BIRMINGHAM, OCTOBER 29, 1858.

The foreign policy of Lord Palmerston in the Crimean War had been severely criticised by Cobden and Bright, and in consequence of this criticism, Bright had lost his seat for Manchester. He was at once, however, elected by Birmingham; and the speech here given was delivered in the Town Hall on the occasion of his first visit to his constituents.

Mr. H. D. Traill in "Literature" says of John Bright: "The first really great orator who habitually called a spade a spade was not Cobden but John Bright. The public speaking we have heard in recent years and that which will mark the sessions of Parliament next week, follows the method of Bright. Two characteristics of his oratory may be singled out in which no public speaker of modern times has been his equal — a natural unstudied sense of rhythm, and the capacity of raising his subject in a moment, by one sentence, one isolated phrase, or even a single word, into the higher regions of Emotion."

Exordium.

Modest Deprecation.

The frequent and far too complimentary manner in which my name has been mentioned to-night, and the most kind way in which you have received me, have placed me in a position somewhat humiliating, and really painful; for to receive laudation which one feels one cannot possibly have merited, is much more painful than to be passed by in a distribution of commendation to which possibly one might lay some claim.

Refutation of Prejudice.

If one twentieth part of what has been said is true, if I am entitled to any measure of your approbation, I may begin to think that my public career and my opinions are not so un-English and so anti-national as some of those who profess to be the best of our public instructors have sometimes assumed. How indeed, can I, any more than any of you, be un-English and anti-national? Was

I not born upon the same soil? Do I not come of the same English stock? Are not my family committed irrevocably to the fortunes of this country? Is not whatever property I may have depending, as much as yours is depending, upon the good government of our common fatherland? Then how shall any man dare to say to any one of his countrymen, because he happens to hold a different opinion on questions of great public policy, that therefore he is un-English, and is to be condemned as anti-national? There are those who would assume that between my countrymen and me, and between my constituents and me, there has been, and there is now, a great gulf fixed, and that if I cannot pass over to them and to you, they and you can by no possibility pass over to me.

Conciliation by Praise and Appeal to Authority.

Now, I take the liberty here, in the presence of an audience as intelligent as can be collected within the limits of this island, and of those who have the strongest claims to know what opinions I do entertain relative to certain great questions of public policy, to assert that I hold no views, that I have never promulgated any views, on those controverted questions with respect to which I cannot bring as witnesses in my favor, and as fellow-believers with myself, some of the best and most revered names in the history of English statesmanship.

Walpole's Policy.

About one hundred and twenty years ago, the government of this country was directed by Sir Robert Walpole, a great minister, who for a long period preserved the country in peace, and whose pride it was that during those years he had done so. Unfortunately, toward the close of his career, he was driven by faction into a policy which was the ruin of his political position.

Sir Robert Walpole declared, when speaking of the question of war as affecting this country, that nothing could be so foolish, nothing so mad, as a policy of war for a trading nation. And he went so far as to say, that any peace was better than the most successful war.

I do not give you the precise language made use of by the minister, for I speak only from memory; but I am satisfied I am not misrepresenting him in what I have now stated.

Come down fifty years nearer to our own time, and you find a statesman, not long in office, but still strong in the affections of all persons of Liberal principles in this country, and in his time representing fully the sentiments of the Liberal party — Charles James Fox.

Fox,

Mr. Fox referring to the policy of the government of his time, which was one of constant interference in the affairs of Europe, and by which the country was continually involved in the calamities of war, said that although he would not assert or maintain the principle, that under no circumstances could England have any cause of interference with the affairs of the continent of Europe, yet he would prefer the policy of positive non-interference and of perfect isolation, rather than the constant intermeddling to which our recent policy had subjected us, and which brought so much trouble and suffering upon the country. In this case also I am not prepared to give you his exact words, but I am sure that I fairly describe the sentiments which he expressed.

Grey,

Come down fifty years later, and to a time within the recollection of most of us, and you find another statesman, once the most popular man in England, and still remembered in this town and elsewhere with respect and affection. I allude to Earl Grey. When Earl Grey came into office for the purpose of carrying the question of parliamentary reform, he unfurled the banner of peace, retrenchment and reform, and that sentiment was received in every part of the United Kingdom, by every man who was or had been in favor of Liberal principles, as predicting the advent of a new era which should save his country from many of the calamities of the past.

and Peel, Advocates of a Policy of Peace.

Come down still nearer, and to a time that seems but the other day, and you find another minister, second to none of those whom I have mentioned — the late Sir Robert Peel. I had the opportunity of observing the conduct of Sir Robert Peel, from the time when he took office in 1841 ; I watched his proceedings particularly from the year 1843, when I entered Parliament, up to the time of his lamented death ; and during the whole of that period,

I venture to say, his principles, if they were to be discovered from his conduct and his speeches, were precisely those which I have held, and which I have always endeavored to press upon the attention of my countrymen. If you have any doubt upon that point I would refer you to that last, that beautiful, that most solemn speech, which he delivered with an earnestness and a sense of responsibility as if he had known he was leaving a legacy to his country. If you refer to that speech, delivered on the morning of the very day on which occurred the accident which terminated his life, you will find that its whole tenor is in conformity with all the doctrines that I have urged upon my countrymen for years past with respect to our policy in foreign affairs. When Sir Robert Peel went home just before the dawn of day, upon the last occasion that he passed from the House of Commons, the scene of so many of his triumphs, I have heard from what I think a good authority that after he entered his own house he expressed the exceeding relief which he experienced at having delivered himself of a speech which he had been reluctantly obliged to make against a ministry which he was anxious to support, and he added, if I am not mistaken: "I have made a speech of peace."

Well, if this be so, if I can give you four names like these, — if there were time I could make a longer list of still eminent, if inferior men, — I should like to know why I, as one of a small party, am to be set down, as teaching some new doctrine which is not fit for my countrymen to hear, and why I am to be assailed in every form of language, as if there was one great department of governmental affairs on which I was incompetent to offer any opinion to my countrymen.

Not a New Theory.

But leaving the opinions of individuals, I appeal to this audience, to every man who knows anything of the views and policy of the Liberal party in past years, whether it is not the fact that, up to 1832, and indeed to a much later period, probably to the year 1850, those sentiments of Sir Robert Walpole, of Mr. Fox, of Earl Grey, and of Sir Robert Peel, the sentiments which I in humbler mode have propounded, were not received unanimously by the Liberal party as their fixed and

unchangeable creed? And why should they not? Are they not founded upon reason? Do not all statesmen know, as you know, that upon peace, and peace alone can be based the successful industry of a nation, and that by successful industry alone can be created that wealth which, permeating all classes of the people, not confined to great proprietors, great merchants, and great speculators, not running in a stream merely down your principal streets, but turning fertilizing rivulets into every by-lane and every alley tends so powerfully to promote the comfort, happiness and contentment of a nation? Do you not know that all progress comes from successful and peaceful industry, and that upon it is based your superstructure of education, of morals, of self-respect among your people, as well as every measure for extending and consolidating freedom in your public institutions? I am not afraid to acknowledge that I do oppose — that I do utterly condemn and denounce — a great part of the foreign policy which is practised and adhered to by the government of this country.

Peace Policy Supported also by Reason.

You know, of course, that about one hundred and seventy years ago there happened in this country what we have always been accustomed to call a "Glorious Revolution" — a Revolution which had this effect: that it put a bit into the mouth of the monarch, so that he was not able of his own free will to do, and he dared no longer attempt to do, the things which his predecessors had done without fear. But if at the Revolution the monarchy of England was bridled and bitted, at the same time the great territorial families of England were enthroned; and from that period until the year 1831 or 1832 — until the time when Birmingham politically became famous — those territorial families reigned with an almost undisputed sway over the destinies and the industry of the people of these kingdoms. If you turn to the history of England from the period of the Revolution to the present, you will find that an entirely new policy was adopted, and that while we had endeavored in former times to keep ourselves free from European complications, we now began to act upon a system of constant entanglement in the affairs of foreign

The Change to a War Policy,

countries, as if there were neither property nor honors, nor anything worth striving for, to be acquired in any other field. The language coined and used then has continued to our day. Lord Somers, in writing for William III, speaks of the endless and sanguinary wars of that period as wars "to maintain the liberties of Europe." There were wars "to support the Protestant interest," and there were many wars to preserve our old friend "the balance of power."

We have been at war since that time, I believe, with, for and against every considerable nation in Europe. We fought to put down a pretended French supremacy under Louis XIV. We fought to prevent France and Spain coming under the scepter of one monarch, although, if we had not fought, it would have been impossible in the course of things that they should have become so united. We fought to maintain the Italian provinces in connection with the House of Austria. We fought to put down the supremacy of Napoleon Bonaparte; and the minister who was employed by this country at Vienna, after the great war, when it was determined that no Bonaparte should ever again sit on the throne of France, was the very man to make an alliance with another Bonaparte for the purpose of carrying on a war to prevent the supremacy of the late Emperor of Russia. So that we have been all around Europe, and across it over and over again, and after a policy so distinguished, so preëminent, so long continued, and so costly, I think we have a fair right — I have, at least — to ask those who are in favor of it to show us its visible result. Europe is not at this moment, so far as I know, speaking of it broadly, and making allowance for certain improvements in its general civilization, more free politically than it was before. The balance of power is like perpetual motion, or any of those impossible things which some men are always racking their brains and spending their time and money to accomplish.

Followed by War with Every Nation of Europe.

We all know and deplore that at the present moment a larger number of the grown men of Europe are employed, and a larger portion of the industry of Europe is absorbed, to provide for, and maintain, the enormous armaments which are

now on foot in every considerable continental state. Assuming, then, that Europe is not much better in consequence of the sacrifices we have made, let us inquire what has been the result in England, because, after all, that is the question which it becomes us most to consider. I believe that I understate the sum when I say that, in pursuit of this will-o'-the-wisp (the liberties of Europe and the balance of power) there has been extracted from the industry of the people of this small island not less an amount than £2,000,000,000 sterling. I cannot imagine how much £2,000,000,000 is, and therefore I shall not attempt to make you comprehend it.

with no Result but Enormous Expense.

I presume it is something like those vast and incomprehensible astronomical distances with which we have been lately made familiar; but however familiar we feel that we do not know one bit more about them than we did before. When I try to think of that sum of £2,000,000,000 there is a sort of vision passes before my mind's eye. I see your peasant laborer delve and plough, sow and reap, sweat beneath the summer's sun, or grow prematurely old before the winter's blast. I see your noble mechanic with his manly countenance and his matchless skill, toiling at his bench or his forge. I see one of the workers in our factories in the north, a woman — a girl it may be — gentle and good, as many of them are, as your sisters and daughters are — I see her intent upon the spindle, whose revolutions are so rapid, that the eye fails altogether to detect them, or watching the alternating flight of the unresting shuttle. I turn again to another portion of your population, which "plunged in mines, forgets a sun was made," and I see the man who brings up from the secret chambers of the earth the elements of the riches and greatness of his country. When I see all this I have before me a mass of produce and of wealth which I am no more able to comprehend than I am that £2,000,000,000 of which I have spoken, but I behold in its full proportions the hideous error of your governments, whose fatal policy consumes in some cases a half, never less than a third, of all the results of that industry which God intended should fertilize and bless every home in England, but the fruits of

The Nation is Overtaxed,

which are squandered in every part of the surface of the globe, without producing the smallest good to the people of England.

We have, it is true, some visible results that are of a more positive character. We have that which some people call a great advantage — the national debt — a debt which is now so large that the most prudent, the most economical and the most honest have given up all hope, not of its being paid off, but of its being diminished in amount.

and the National Debt Increased.

We have, too, taxes which have been during many years so onerous that there have been times when the patient beasts of burden threatened to revolt — so onerous that it has been utterly impossible to levy them with any kind of honest equality, according to the means of the people to pay them. We have that, moreover, which is a standing wonder to all foreigners who consider our condition — an amount of apparently immovable pauperism which to strangers is wholly irreconcilable with the fact that we, as a nation produce more of what should make us all comfortable than is produced by any other nation of similar numbers on the face of the globe. Let us likewise remember that during the period of those great and so-called contests on the continent of Europe, every description of home reform was not only delayed, but actually crushed out of the minds of the great bulk of the people. There can be no doubt whatever that in 1793 England was about to realize political changes and reforms such as did not appear again until 1830, and during the period of that war, which now almost all men agree to have been wholly unnecessary, we were passing through a period which may be described as the dark age of English politics; when there was no more freedom to write or speak, or politically to act, than there is now in the most despotic country of Europe.

Production and Poverty not Equal.

But, it may be asked, did nobody gain? If Europe is no better, and the people of England have been so much worse, who has benefited by the new system of foreign policy? What has been the fate of those who were enthroned at the Revolution, and whose supremacy has been for so long a period undisputed among us? Mr. Kinglake, the author of an interesting

book on Eastern travel, describing the habits of some acquaintances that he made in the Syrian deserts, says that the jackals of the desert follow their prey in families like the place-hunters of Europe. I will reverse, if you like, the comparison, and say that the great territorial families of England, which were enthroned at the Revolution, have followed their prey like the jackals of the desert. Do you not observe at a glance that, from the time of William III, by reason of the foreign policy which I denounce, wars have been multiplied, taxes increased, loans made, and the sums of money which every year the government has to expend augmented, and that so the patronage at the disposal of ministers must have increased also, and the families who were enthroned and made powerful in the legislation and administration of the country must have had the first pull at, and the largest profit out of, that patronage? There is no actuary in existence who can calculate how much of the wealth, of the strength, of the supremacy of the territorial families of England, has been derived from an unholy participation in the fruits of the industry of the people, which have been wrested from them by every device of taxation and squandered in every conceivable crime of which a government could possibly be guilty.

The only Gain seems to be the Increase of Patronage

The more you examine this matter the more you will come to the conclusion which I have arrived at, that this foreign policy this regard for the "liberties of Europe" this care at one time for "the Protestant interests," this excessive love for "the balance of power," is neither more nor less than a gigantic system of out-door relief for the aristocracy of Great Britain (great laughter). I observe that you receive that declaration as if it were some new and important discovery. In 1815, when the great war with France was ended, every Liberal in England, whose politics, whose hopes, and whose faith had not been crushed out of him by the tyranny of the time of that war, was fully aware of this, and openly admitted it, and up to 1832 and for some years afterward, it was the fixed and undoubted creed of the great Liberal party. But somehow all is changed. We,

and the Habit of Meddling with Others.

who stand upon the old landmarks, who walk in the old paths, who would conserve what is wise and prudent, are hustled and shoved about as if we were come to turn the world upside down. The change which has taken place seems to confirm the opinion of a lamented friend of mine who, not having succeeded in all his hopes, thought that men made no progress whatever, but went round and round like a squirrel in a cage. The idea is now so general that it is our duty to meddle everywhere, that it really seems as if we had pushed the Tories from the field, expelling them by our competition.

I should like to lay before you a list of the treaties which we have made, and of the responsibilities under which we have laid ourselves with respect to the various countries of Europe. I do not know where such an enumeration is to be found, but I suppose it would be possible for antiquaries and men of investigating minds to dig them out from the recesses of the Foreign Office, and perhaps to make some of them intelligible to the country. I believe, however, that if we go to the Baltic we shall find that we have a treaty to defend Sweden, and the only thing which Sweden agrees to do in return is not to give up any portion of her territories to Russia. Coming down a little south we have a treaty which invites us, enables us, and perhaps, if we acted fully up to our duty with regard to it, would compel us to interfere in the question between Denmark and the duchies. If I mistake not, we have a treaty which binds us down to the maintenance of the little kingdom of Belgium, as established after its separation from Holland. We have numerous treaties with France. We are understood to be bound by treaty to maintain constitutional government in Spain and Portugal. If we go round into the Mediterranean we find the little kingdom of Sardinia, to which we have lent some millions of money, and with which we have entered into important treaties for preserving the balance of power in Europe. If we go beyond the kingdom of Italy and cross the Adriatic, we come to the small kingdom of Greece, against which we have a nice account that will never be settled ; while we have engagements to maintain

We are Bound by Small Treaties everywhere with no Good Result.

that respectable but diminutive country under its present constitutional government. Then leaving the kingdom of Greece we pass up the eastern end of the Mediterranean, and from Greece to the Red Sea, wherever the authority of the Sultan is more or less admitted, the blood and the industry of England are pledged to the permanent sustentation of the "independence and integrity" of the Ottoman Empire.

I confess that as a citizen of this country, wishing to live peaceably among my fellow-countrymen, and wishing to see my countrymen free, and able to enjoy the fruits of their labor, I protest against a system which binds us in all these networks and complications from which it is impossible that one can gain one single atom of advantage for this country. It is not all glory after all. Glory may be worth something, but it is not always glory. We have had within the last few years despatches from Vienna and St. Petersburg, which, if we had not deserved them, would have been very offensive and not a little insolent. We have had the ambassador of the queen expelled summarily from Madrid, and we have had an ambassador driven almost with ignominy from Washington. We have blockaded Athens for a claim which was known to be false. We have quarrelled with Naples, for we chose to give advice to Naples which was not received in the submissive spirit expected from her, and our minister was therefore withdrawn. Not three years ago, too, we seized a considerable kingdom in India with which our government had but recently entered into the most solemn treaty, which every lawyer in England and in Europe I believe would consider binding before God and the world. We deposed its monarch; we committed a great immorality and a great crime and we have reaped an almost instantaneous retribution in the most gigantic and sanguinary revolt which probably any nation ever made against its conquerors. Within the last few years we have had two wars with a great empire which we are told contains at least one third of the whole human race. The first war was called, and appropriately called, the Opium War. No man, I believe, with a spark of morality in his composition,

Not even Glory, as We have been Reproved Sharply and have been Forced into Reprehensible Conduct.

no man who cares anything for the opinion of his fellow-countrymen, has dared to justify that war. The war which has just been concluded, if it has been concluded, had its origin in the first war; for the enormities committed in the first war are the foundation of the implacable hostility which it is said the inhabitants of Canton bear to all persons connected with the English name. Yet, though we have had these troubles in India, — a vast country which we do not know how to govern — and a war with China — a country with which, though everybody else can remain at peace, we cannot — such is the inveterate habit of conquest, such is the insatiable lust of territory, such is, in my view, the depraved, unhappy state of opinion of the country on this subject, that there are not a few persons, Chambers of Commerce, to wit, in different parts of the kingdom (though I am glad to say it has not been so with the Chamber of Commerce at Birmingham) who have been urging our government to take possession of a province of the greatest island in the eastern seas; a possession which must at once necessitate increased estimates and increased taxation and which would probably lead us into merciless and disgraceful wars with the half-savage tribes who inhabit that island.

I will not dwell upon that question. The gentlemen who is principally concerned in it is at this moment, as you know, stricken down with affliction, and I am unwilling to enter here into any considerable discussion of the case which he is urging upon the public; but I say that we have territory enough in India; and if we have not troubles enough there, if we have not difficulties enough in China, if we have not taxation enough, by all means gratify your wishes for more; but I hope that whatever may be the shortcomings of the government with regard to any other questions in which we are all interested — and may they be few! — they will shut their eyes, they will turn their backs obstinately from adding in this mode, or in any mode, to the English possessions in the East. I suppose that if any ingenious person were to prepare a large map of the world, as far as it is known, and were to mark upon it, in any color that he liked, the spots where Englishmen

Englishmen have Fought for Territory in nearly every Province of the Globe.

have fought and English blood has been poured forth, and the treasures of English industry squandered, scarcely a country, scarcely a province of the vast expanse of the habitable globe, would be thus undistinguished.

Perhaps there are in this room, I am sure there are in the country, many persons who hold a superstitious traditionary belief that, somehow or other, our vast trade is to be attributed to what we have done in this way, that it is thus we have opened markets and advanced commerce, that English greatness depends upon the extent of English conquests and English military renown. But I am inclined to think that, with the exception of Australia, there is not a single dependency of the crown which, if we come to reckon what it has cost in war and protection, would not be found to be a positive loss to the people of this country. Take the United States, with which we have such an enormous and constantly increasing trade. The wise statesmen of the last generation, men whom your school histories tell you were statesmen, serving under a monarch, who, they tell you was a patriotic monarch, spent £130,000,000 of the fruits of the industry of the people in vain — happily a vain — endeavor to retain the colonies of the United States in subjection to the monarchy of England.

And Our Conquests have not Advanced Our Trade.

Add up the interest of that £130,000,000 for all this time, and how long do you think it will be before there will be a profit on the trade with the United States which will repay the enormous sum we invested in a war to retain those States as colonies of this empire? It never will be paid off. Wherever you turn, you will find that the opening of markets, developing of new countries, introducing cotton cloth with cannon balls, are vain, foolish and wretched excuses for wars, and ought not to be listened to for a moment by any man who understands the multiplication table, or who can do the simplest sum in arithmetic.

Even Our Trade with the United States will Not Pay the Expenses of Our War.

Since the "Glorious Revolution," since the enthronization of the great Norman territorial families, they have spent in wars, and we have worked for, about £2,000,000,000. The

interest on that is £100,000,000 per annum, which alone, to say nothing of the principal sum, is three or four times as much as the whole amount of your annual export trade from that time to this.

Therefore, if war has provided you with a trade, it has been at an enormous cost; but I think it is by no means doubtful that your trade would have been no less in amount and no less profitable, had peace and justice been inscribed on your flag instead of conquest and the love of military renown. But even in this year, 1858 — we have got a long way into the century, — we find that within the last seven years our public debt has greatly increased. Whatever be the increase of our population, of our machinery, of our industry, of our wealth, still our national debt goes on increasing. Although we have not a foot more territory to conserve, or an enemy in the world who dreams of attacking us, we find that our annual military expenses during the last twenty years have risen from £12,000,000 to £22,000,000.

Our Public Debt Keeps Increasing

Some people believe that it is a very good thing to pay a great revenue to the state. Even so eminent a man as Lord John Russell, is not without a delusion of this sort. Lord John Russell, as you have heard, while speaking of me in flattering and friendly terms, says he is unfortunately obliged to differ from me frequently; therefore, I suppose there is no particular harm in my saying that I am sometimes obliged to differ from him. Sometime ago he was a great star in the northern hemisphere, shining, not with unaccustomed, but with his usual brilliancy at Liverpool. He made a speech, in which there was a great deal to be admired, to a meeting composed, it was said to a great extent of working men; and in it he stimulated them to a feeling of pride in the greatness of their country, and in being citizens of a state which enjoyed a revenue of £100,000,000 a year — which included the revenues of the United Kingdom and of British India. But I think it would have been far more to the purpose if he could have congratulated the working men of Liverpool on this vast empire being conducted in an orderly manner, on its laws being

In Spite of

Lord Russell's View of the Honor of a Great Revenue.

well administered and well obeyed, its shores sufficiently defended, its people prosperous and happy, on a revenue of £20,000,000. The state indeed, of which Lord John Russell is a part, may enjoy a revenue of £100,000,000, but I am afraid the working men can only be said to enjoy it in the sense in which men not very choice in their expressions say that for a long time they have enjoyed very bad health.

I am prepared to admit that it is a subject of congratulation that there is a people so great, so free, and so industrious that it can produce a sufficient income out of which £100,000,000 a year, if need absolutely were, could be spared for some great and noble object; but it is not a thing to be proud of that our government should require us to pay that enormous sum for the simple purposes of government and defense.

This Immense Revenue is Paid Out,

Nothing can by any possibility tend more to the corruption of a government than enormous revenues. We have heard lately of instances of certain joint-stock institutions with very great capital collapsing suddenly, bringing disgrace upon their managers and ruin upon hundreds of families. A great deal of that has arisen, not so much from intentional fraud as from the fact that weak and incapable men have found themselves tumbling about in an ocean of bank-notes and gold, and they appear to have lost all sight of where it came from, to whom it belonged, and whether it was possible by any maladministration ever to come to an end of it. That is absolutely what is done by governments. You have read in the papers lately some accounts of the proceedings before a commission appointed to inquire into alleged maladministration with reference to the supply of clothing to the army, but if anybody had said anything in the time of the late government about any such maladministration, there is not one of those great statesmen, of whom we are told we ought always to speak with so much reverence, who would not have got up and declared that nothing could be more admirable than the system of book-keeping at Weedon, nothing more economical than the manner in which the War Department spent the money

For it Seems that Large Revenues Dazzle Those in Charge and Twice as Much is Paid Out as Should be.

provided by public taxation. But we know that it is not so. I have heard a gentleman — one who is as competent as any man in England to give an opinion about it — a man of business, and not surpassed by any one as a man of business, declare, after a long examination of the details of the question, that he would undertake to do everything that is done not only for the defence of the country, but for many other things which are done by your navy, and which are necessary for that purpose, for half the annual cost that is voted in the estimates.

I think the expenditure of these vast sums, and especially of those which we spend for military purposes, leads us to adopt a defiant and insolent tone towards foreign countries. We have the freest press in Europe, and the freest platform in Europe, but every man who writes an article in a newspaper, and every man who stands on a platform, ought to do it under a solemn sense of responsibility. Every word he writes, every word I utter passes with a rapidity of which our forefathers were utterly ignorant, to the very ends of the earth; the words become things and acts, and they produce on the minds of other nations effects which a man may never have intended. Take a recent case; take the case of France. I am not expected to defend, and I shall certainly not attack, the present government of France.

Vast Military Expenditures Encourage Insolence of Speech, and Led to

The instant that it appeared in its present shape the minister of England conducting your foreign affairs, speaking ostensibly for the cabinet, for his sovereign and for the English nation, offered his congratulation, and the support of England was at once accorded to the re-created French empire. Soon after this an intimate alliance was entered into between the Queen of England, through her ministers, and the Emperor of the French.

The French Alliance, Which was Formed,

I am not about to defend the policy which flowed from that alliance, nor shall I take up your time by making any attack upon it. An alliance was entered into and a war was entered into; English and French soldiers fought on the same field and they suffered, I fear, from the same neglect. They now lie buried on the bleak heights of the Crimea, and except by their

mothers, who do not forget their children, I suppose they are mostly forgotten. I have never heard it suggested that the French government did not behave with the most perfect honor to this government and to this country all through these grave transactions; but I have heard it stated by those who must know, that nothing could be more honorable, nothing more just, than the conduct of the French Emperor to this government throughout the whole of that struggle. More recently, when the war in China was begun by a government which I have condemned and denounced in the House of Commons, the Emperor of the French sent his ships and troops to coöperate with us, but I never heard that anything was done there to create a suspicion of a feeling of hostility on his part toward us. The Emperor of the French came to London, and some of those powerful organs of the press that have since taken the line of which I am complaining, did all but invite the people of London to prostrate themselves under the wheels of the chariot which conveyed along our streets the revived monarchy of France. The Queen of England went to Paris and was she not received there with as much affection and as much respect as her high position and her honorable character entitled her to?

And Left Forgotten English and French Soldiers Dead in the Crimea.

There was Every Friendly Feeling Manifested

What has occurred since? If there was a momentary unpleasantness, I am quite sure every impartial man will agree that, under the peculiarly irritating circumstances of the time there was at least as much forbearance shown on one side of the Channel as on the other. Then we have had much said lately about a naval fortification recently completed in France, which has been more than one hundred years in progress, and which was not devised by the present Emperor of the French.

and Forbearance.

For one hundred years great sums had been spent on it, and at last, like every other great work, it was brought to an end. The English Queen and others were invited over, and many went who were not invited. And yet in all this we are told that there is something to create extreme alarm and suspicion;

we, who never fortified any places ; we, who have not a greater than Sebastopol at Gibraltar : we, who have not an impregnable fortress at Malta, who have not spent the fortune of a nation almost in the Ionian Islands, and who are doing nothing at Alderney ; we are to take offence at the fortifications of Cherbourg. There are few persons who at some time or other have not been brought into contact with a poor unhappy fellow-creature who has some peculiar delusion or suspicion pressing on his mind. I recollect a friend of mine going down from Derby to Leeds in the train with a very quiet and respectable looking gentleman sitting opposite to him. They had both been staying at the Midland Hotel, and they began talking about it. All at once the gentleman said : " Did you notice any thing particular about the bread at breakfast ? " " No," said my friend, " I did not," " Oh, but I did " said the poor gentleman, " and I am convinced there was an attempt made to poison me, and it is a very curious thing that I never go to an hotel without I discover some attempt to do me mischief." The unfortunate man was laboring under one of the greatest calamities which can befall a human creature. But what are we to say of a nation which lives under a perpetual delusion that it is about to be attacked — a nation which is the most combined on the face of the earth, with little less than 30,000,000 of people all united under a government which, though we intend to reform we do not the less respect, and which has mechanical power and wealth to which no other country offers any parallel? There is no causeway to Britain ; the free waves of the sea flow day and night forever round her shores, and yet there are people going about with whom this hallucination is so strong that they do not merely discover it quietly to their friends, but they write it down in double-leaded columns, in leading articles, — nay, some of them actually get up on platforms and proclaim it to hundreds and thousands of their fellow-countrymen. I should like to ask you whether these delusions are to last forever, whether this policy is to be the perpetual policy of England, whether these results are to go on gathering and gathering until there come,

But We are Not Even an Object of Attack as Deluded Men Would Make Us Believe.

as come there must inevitably, some dreadful catastrophe on our country.

I should like to-night if I could, to inaugurate one of the best and holiest revolutions that ever took place in this country. We have had a dozen revolutions since some of us were children. We have had one revolution in which you had a great share — a great revolution of opinion on the question of the suffrage. Does it not read like madness that men, thirty years ago, were frantic at the idea of the people of Birmingham having a £10 franchise? Does it not seem something like idiocy to be told that a banker in Leeds, when it was proposed to transfer the seats of one rotten borough to the town of Leeds should say (and it was repeated in the House of Commons on his authority) that if the people of Leeds had the franchise conferred upon them it would not be possible to keep the bank doors open with safety, and that he should remove his business to some quiet place, out of danger from the savage race that peopled that town? But now all confess that the people are perfectly competent to have votes, and nobody dreams of arguing that the privilege will make them less orderly.

I am in Favor of a Revolution in this Matter— and We Can All See the Changes About the Franchise Which Were Brought About Against Received Opinions,

Take the question of colonial government. Twenty years ago the government of our colonies was a huge job. A small family party in each, in connection with the Colonial Office ruled our colonies. We had then discontent, and now and then a little wholesome insurrection, especially in Canada. The result was that we have given up the colonial policy which had hitherto been held sacred, and since that time not only have our colonies greatly advanced in wealth and material resources, but no parts of the empire are more tranquil and loyal.

And the Question of Colonial Government,

Take also the question of protection. Not thirty years ago, but twelve years ago, there was a great party in Parliament, led by a duke in one House, and by a son and brother of a duke in the other, which declared that utter ruin must come, not only on the agricultural interest, but upon the manufactures

And the Evils Predicted if Protection Were done Away With.

and commerce of England, if we departed from our old theories upon this subject of protection. They told us that the laborer — the unhappy laborer — of whom it may be said in this country: —

> "Here landless laborers hopeless toil and strive,
> But taste no portion of the sweets they hive."

that the laborer was to be ruined; that is, that the paupers were to be pauperized. These gentlemen were overthrown. The plain, honest, common sense of the country, swept away their cobweb theories, and they are gone. What is the result? From 1846 to 1857 we have received into this country, of grain of all kinds, including flour, maize, or India corn — all objects heretofore not of absolute prohibition, but which were intended to be prohibited until it was not safe for people to be starved any more, — not less than an amount equal in value to £224,000,000. That is equal to £18,700,000 per annum on the average of twelve years. During that period, too, your home growth has been stimulated to an enormous extent. You have imported annually 200,000 tons of guano, and the result has been a proportionate increase in the productions of the soil, for 200,000 tons of guano will grow an equal weight and value of wheat. With all this, agriculture was never more prosperous, while manufactures were never, at the same time, more extensively exported; and with all this, the laborers for whom the tears of the protectionist were shed, have, according to the admission of the most violent of the class, never been in a better state since the beginning of the great French war.

And yet Prosperity Was Never Greater Than at this Time.

One other revolution of opinion has been in regard to our criminal law. I have lately been reading a book which I would advise every man to read — the "Life of Sir Samuel Romilly." He tells us in simple language of the almost insuperable difficulties he had to contend with to persuade the legislature of this country to abolish the punishment of death for stealing from a dwelling-house to the value of five shillings,

The Criminal Law Has Been Totally Changed.

an offence which now is punished by a few weeks' imprisonment. Lords, bishops and statesmen opposed these efforts year after year and there have been some thousands of persons put to death publicly for offences which are not now punishable with death. Now every man and woman in the kingdom would feel a thrill of horror if told that a fellow-creature was to be put to death for such a cause.

These are revolutions in opinion, and let me tell you that when you accomplish a revolution in opinion upon a great question, when you alter it from bad to good, it is not like charitably giving a beggar sixpence and seeing him no more, but it is a great beneficent act, which affects not merely the rich and powerful, but penetrates every lane, every cottage in the land, and wherever it goes it brings blessings and happiness. It is not from statesmen that these things come. It is not from them that have proceeded these great revolutions of opinion on the questions of reform, protection, colonial government, and criminal law — it was from public meetings such as this, from the intelligence and conscience of the great body of the people who have no interest in wrong, and who never go from the right but by temporary error and under momentary passion.

These Revolutions in Opinion Are Good and Came from the People.

It is for you to decide whether our greatness shall be only temporary, or whether it shall be enduring. When I am told that the greatness of our country is shown by the £100,000,000 of revenue produced, may I not also ask how it is that we have 1,100,000, paupers in this kingdom, and why it is that £7,000,000 should be taken from the industry chiefly of the laboring classes to support a small nation, as it were, of paupers? Since your legislation upon the Corn Laws, you have not only had nearly £20,000,000 of food brought into the country annually, but such an extraordinary increase of trade that your exports are about doubled, and yet I understand that in the year 1856, for I have no later return, there were no less than 1,100,000 paupers in the United Kingdom, and the sum raised in poor-rates was not less than £7,200,000, and that cost of pauperism

Though the Revenue be Great Pauperism is Great,

is not the full amount, for there is a vast amount of temporary, casual and vagrant pauperism that does not come in to swell that sum.

And Efforts Are Made, to Merely Keep from Pauperism, by a Large Proportion of Our People.

Then do not you know — I know it because I live among the population of Lancashire, and I doubt not the same may be said of the population of this city and county — that just above the level of the 1,100,000 there is at least an equal number who are ever oscillating between independence and pauperism, who, with a heroism which is not the less heroic because it is secret and unrecorded, are doing their very utmost to maintain an honorable and independent position before their fellow-men?

The Irish and Scotch Laborer is Not in a Satisfactory Position and it Must be Remedied.

While Irish labor, notwithstanding the improvement which has taken place in Ireland, is only paid at the rate of about one shilling a day; while in the straths and glens of Scotland there are hundreds of shepherd families whose whole food almost consists of oatmeal porridge, from day to day, and from week to week; while these things continue, I say that we have no reason to be self-satisfied and contented with our position; but that we who are in Parliament and are more directly responsible for affairs, and you who are also responsible though in a lesser degree, are bound by the sacred duty which we owe our country to examine why it is that with all this trade, all this industry, and all this personal freedom, there is still so much that is unsound at the base of our social fabric?

Your War Has Degraded Woman and Has Wasted One Hundred Million Pounds, and Has it Been Unjustly?

Let me direct your attention now to another point which I never think of without feeling what words would altogether fail to express. You hear constantly that woman, the helpmate of man, who adorns, dignifies, and blesses our lives, that woman in this country is cheap; that vast numbers, whose names ought to be synonyms for purity and virtue, are plunged into profligacy and infamy. But do you not know that you sent 40,000 men to perish on the bleak heights of the Crimea, and that the revolt in India caused, in part at least, by the grievous iniquity of the seizure of Oude, may

tax your country to the extent of 100,000 lives before it is extinguished; and do you not know that for the 140,000 men thus drafted off and consigned to premature graves, nature provided in your country 140,000 women? If you have taken the men who should have been the husbands of these women, and if you have sacrificed £100,000,000, which as capital reserved in the country would have been an ample fund for their employment and for the sustentation of their families, are you not guilty of a great sin in involving yourselves in such a loss of life and of money in war, except on grounds and under circumstances which, according to the opinions of every man in the country, should leave no kind of option whatever for your choice?

I know perfectly well the kind of observation which a certain class of critics will make upon this speech.

I have been already told by a very eminent newspaper publisher in Calcutta, who, commenting on a speech I made at the close of the session, with regard to the condition of India, and our future policy in that country, said, that the policy I recommended was intended to strike at the root of the advancement of the British empire, and that its advancement did not necessarily involve the calamities which I pointed out as likely to occur.

I am Said to Oppose England's Greatness,

My Calcutta critic assured me that Rome pursued a similar policy for a period of eight centuries and that for those eight centuries she remained great. Now I do not think that examples taken from pagan, sanguinary Rome, are proper models for the imitation of a Christian country, nor would I limit my hopes of the greatness of England even to the long duration of eight hundred years.

As Pagan Rome Became Great in This Way.

But what is Rome now? The great city is dead. A poet has described her as "the lone mother of dead empires." Her language even is dead. Her very tombs are empty; the ashes of her most illustrious citizens are dispersed.

Pagan Rome Is Not the Model for a Christian Nation.

"The Scipios' tomb contains no ashes now." Yet I am asked, I, who am one of the legislators of a Christian country, to measure my policy by the policy of ancient and pagan Rome.

I believe there is no permanent greatness to a nation except it be based upon morality. I do not care for military greatness or military renown. I care for the condition of the people among whom I live. There is no man in England who is less likely to speak irreverently of the crown and monarchy of England than I am ; but crowns, coronets, mitres, military display, the pomp of war, wide colonies, and a huge empire are, in my view, all trifles, light as air, and not worth considering, unless with them you can have a fair share of comfort, contentment and happiness, among the great body of the people. Palaces, baronial castles, great halls, stately mansions, do not make a nation. The nation in every country dwells in the cottage ; and unless the light of your constitution can shine there, unless the beauty of your legislation and the excellence of your statesmanship are impressed there on the feelings and condition of the people, rely upon it you have yet to learn the duties of government.

Material Military, Social Greatness Are Naught Without the Happiness and Content of the People, and a Moral Law.

I have not, as you have observed, pleaded that this country should remain without adequate and scientific means of defense. I acknowledge it to be the duty of your statesmen, acting upon the known opinions and principles of ninety-nine out of every hundred persons in the country, at all times, with all possible moderation, but with all possible efficiency, to take steps which shall preserve order within and on the confines of your kingdom. But I shall repudiate and denounce the expenditure of every shilling, the engagement of every man, the employment of every ship, which has no object but intermeddling in the affairs of other countries, and endeavoring to extend the boundaries of an empire which is already large enough to satisfy the greatest ambition, and I fear is much too large for the highest statesmanship to which any man has yet attained.

I Approve Adequate Defense, but Not Appropriations for Conquest.

The most ancient of profane historians has told us that the Scythians of his time were a very warlike people, and that they elevated an old cimeter upon a platform as a symbol of Mars, for to Mars alone, I believe, they built altars and offered sacrifices. To this cimeter they offered sacrifices of horses and

cattle, the main wealth of the country, and more costly sacrifices than to all the rest of their gods. I often ask myself whether we are at all advanced in one respect beyond those Scythians. What are our contributions to charity, to education, to morality, to religion, to justice, and to civil government, when compared with the wealth we expend in sacrifices to the old cimeter? Two nights ago I addressed in this hall a vast assembly composed to a great extent of your countrymen who have no political power, who are at work from the dawn of day to the evening and who have therefore limited means of informing themselves on these great subjects. Now I am privileged to speak to a somewhat different audience. You represent those of your great community, who have a more complete education, who have on some points greater intelligence, and in whose hands reside the power and influence of the district. I am speaking too, within the hearing of those whose gentle nature, whose finer instincts, whose purer minds, have not suffered as some of us have suffered in the turmoil and strife of life. You can mould opinion, you can create political power; — you can not think a good thought on this subject and communicate it to your neighbors, you cannot make these points topics of discussion in your social circles and more general meetings, without affecting sensibly and speedily the course which the government of your country will pursue.

We Are Sacrificing Our Wealth to the God of War.

Intelligent Men and Women Should Form Public Opinion on this Matter Against this State of Affairs.

May I ask you, then, to believe, as I do most devoutly believe, that the moral law was not written for men alone, in their individual character, but that it was written as well for nations, and for nations great as this of which we are citizens. If nations reject and deride that moral law, there is a penalty which will inevitably follow. It may not come at once, it may not come in our lifetime; but rely upon it, the great Italian is not a poet only, but a prophet when he says:

The Observance of the Moral Law, Which Exists for Nations, Not Only for Individuals, Will Alone Make and Keep Us a Happy People.

"The sword of heaven is not in haste to smite
Nor yet doth linger."

We have experience, we have beacons, we have landmarks

enough. We know what the past has cost us, we know how much and how far we have wandered, but we are not left without a guide. It is true we have not, as an ancient people had, Urim and Thummim — those oraculous gems on Aaron's breast, — from which to take counsel, but we have the unchangeable and eternal principles of the moral law to guide us, and only so far as we walk by that guidance can we be permanently a great nation, or our people a happy people.

SYLLOGISM OF THE SPEECH OF JOHN BRIGHT.

A policy which is opposed by great statesmen, involves the nation in debt without further good than mere increase of territory, destroys men, degrades women, brings no happiness to our people and is against the moral law of nations, should be changed by force of public opinion.

Such is the character of our foreign policy — as shown in detail by proof and statistics.

Therefore, our present foreign policy should be changed and by the action of the people.

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON DANIEL O'CONNELL.

On the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Daniel O'Connell, August 6, 1875, a celebration was held in Music Hall, Boston. Mr. Phillips was the orator of the occasion. No subject could have been more congenial, for no statesman of his own day had more deeply impressed Mr. Phillips than O'Connell, and the name of the Irish agitator was often on the American agitator's lips. The oration was often repeated, and takes rank with the orator's masterpieces.

A hundred years ago to-day Daniel O'Connell was born. The Irish race, wherever scattered over the globe, assembles to-night to pay fitting tribute to his memory, — one of the most eloquent men, one of the most devoted patriots and the most successful statesman which that race has given to history. We of other races may well join you in that tribute, since the cause of constitutional government owes more to O'Connell than to any other political leader of the last two centuries. The English-speaking race, to find his equal among its statesmen, must pass by Chatham and Walpole, and go back to Oliver Cromwell, or the able men who held up the throne of Queen Elizabeth. If to put the civil and social elements of your day into successful action, and plant the seeds of continued strength and progress for coming times, — if this is to be a statesman, then most emphatically was O'Connell one. To exert this control, and secure this progress, while and because ample means lie ready for use under your hand, does not rob Walpole and Colbert, Chatham and Richelieu, of their title to be considered statesmen. To do it, as Martin Luther did, when one must ingeniously discover or invent his tools, and while the mightiest forces that influence human affairs are arrayed against him, that is what ranks O'Connell with the few masterly statesmen the English-speaking race has ever had. When Napoleon's soldiers bore the negro chief Toussaint L'Ouverture into exile, he said, pointing back to San Domingo, "You think you have rooted up the tree of liberty, but I am only a branch. I have planted the tree itself so deep that ages will never root it up."

And whatever may be said of the social or industrial condition of Hayti during the last seventy years, its *nationality* has never been successfully assailed.

O'Connell is the only Irishman who can say as much of Ireland. From the peace of Utrecht, 1713, till the fall of Napoleon, Great Britain was the leading State in Europe; while Ireland, a comparatively insignificant island, lay at its feet. She weighed next to nothing in the scale of British politics. The Continent pitied, and England despised her. O'Connell found her a mass of quarrelling races and sects, divided, dispirited, broken-hearted, and servile. He made her a *nation* whose first word broke in pieces the iron obstinacy of Wellington, tossed Peel from the cabinet, and gave the government to the Whigs; whose colossal figure, like the helmet in Walpole's romance, has filled the political sky ever since; whose generous aid thrown into the scale of the three great British reforms, — the ballot, the corn-laws, and slavery, — secured their success; a nation whose continual discontent has dragged Great Britain down to be a second-rate power on the chess-board of Europe. I know other causes have helped in producing this result, but the nationality which O'Connell created has been the main cause of this change in England's importance. Dean Swift, Molyneux, and Henry Flood thrust Ireland for a moment into the arena of British politics, a sturdy suppliant clamoring for justice; and Grattan held her there an equal, and, as he thought, a nation, for a few years. But the unscrupulous hand of William Pitt brushed away in an hour all Grattan's work. Well might he say of the Irish Parliament which he brought to life, "I sat by its cradle, I followed its hearse;" since after that infamous union, which Byron called a "union of the shark with its prey," Ireland sank back, plundered and helpless. O'Connell lifted her to a fixed and permanent place in English affairs, — no suppliant, but a conqueror dictating her terms.

This is the proper standpoint from which to look at O'Connell's work. This is the consideration that ranks him, not with founders of States, like Alexander, Caesar, Bismarck, Napoleon, and William the Silent, but with men who, without arms, by force of reason, have revolutionized their times, — with Luther,

Jefferson, Mazzini, Samuel Adams, Garrison, and Franklin. I know some men will sneer at this claim, — those who have never looked at him except through the spectacles of English critics, who despised him as an Irishman and a Catholic, until they came to hate him as a conqueror. As Grattan said of Kirwan, "The curse of Swift was upon him, to have been born an Irishman and a man of genius, and to have used his gifts for his country's good." Mark what measure of success attended the able men who preceded him, in circumstances as favorable as his, perhaps even better; then measure him by comparison.

An island soaked with the blood of countless rebellions; oppression such as would turn cowards into heroes; a race whose disciplined valor had been proved on almost every battlefield in Europe, and whose reckless daring lifted it, any time, in arms against England, with hope or without, — what inspired them? Devotion, eloquence, and patriotism seldom paralleled in history. Who lead them? *Dean Swift*, according to Addison "the greatest genius of his age," called by Pope "the incomparable," a man fertile in resources, of stubborn courage and tireless energy, master of an English style unequalled, perhaps, for its purpose, then or since, a man who had twice faced England in her angriest mood, and by that masterly pen subdued her to his will; *Henry Flood*, eloquent even for an Irishman, and sagacious as he was eloquent, — the eclipse of that brilliant life is one of the saddest pictures in Irish biography; *Grattan*, with all the courage, and more than the eloquence, of his race, a statesman's eye quick to see every advantage, boundless of devotion, unspotted integrity, recognized as an equal by the world's leaders, and welcomed by Fox to the House of Commons as the "Demosthenes of Ireland"; *Emmet* in the field, *Sheridan* in the senate, *Curran* at the bar; and, above all, *Edmund Burke*, whose name makes eulogy superfluous, more than Cicero in the senate, almost Plato in the academy. All these gave their lives to Ireland; and when the present century opened, where was she? Sold like a slave in the market-place by her perjured master, William Pitt.

It was then that O'Connell flung himself into the struggle, gave fifty years to the service of his country; and where is she

to-day? Not only redeemed, but her independence put beyond doubt or peril. Grattan and his predecessors could get no guaranties for what rights they gained. In that sagacious, watchful, and almost omnipotent *public-opinion*, which O'Connell created, is an all-sufficient guaranty of Ireland's future. Look at her; almost every shackle has fallen from her limbs; all that human wisdom has as yet devised to remedy the evils of bigotry and misrule has been done. O'Connell found Ireland a "hissing and a byword" in Edinburgh and London. He made her the pivot of British politics; she rules them, directly or indirectly, with as absolute a sway as the slave question did the United States from 1850 to 1865. Look into Earl Russell's book, and the history of the Reform Bill of 1832, and see with how much truth it may be claimed that O'Connell and his fellows gave Englishmen the ballot under that act. It is by no means certain that the corn-laws could have been abolished without their aid. In the anti-slavery struggle O'Connell stands, in influence and ability, equal with the best. I know the credit all those measures do to English leaders; but, in my opinion, the next generation will test the statesmanship of Peel, Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone, almost entirely by their conduct of the Irish question. All the laurels they have hitherto won in that field are rooted in ideas which Grattan and O'Connell urged on reluctant hearers for half a century. Why do Bismarck and Alexander look with such contemptuous indifference on every attempt of England to mingle in European affairs? Because they know they have but to lift a finger, and Ireland stabs her in the back. Where was the statesmanship of English leaders when they allowed such an evil to grow so formidable? This is Ireland to-day. What was she when O'Connell undertook her cause? The saddest of Irish poets has described her: —

"O Ireland, my country, the hour of thy pride and thy splendor hath passed,
And the chain that was spurned in thy moments of power hangs heavy around thee at last;
There are marks in the fate of each clime, there are turns in the fortunes of men;
But the changes of realms or the chances of time shall never restore thee again.

"Thou art chained to the wheel of the foe by links which a world cannot sever;
With thy tyrant through storm and through calm thou shalt go, and thy sentence is bondage forever.
Thou art doomed for the thankless to toil, thou art left for the proud to disdain;
And the blood of thy sons and the wealth of thy soil shall be lavished and lavished in vain.

"Thy riches with taunts shall be taken, thy valor with coldness be paid;
And of millions who see thee thus sunk and forsaken not one shall go forth in thine aid.
In the nations thy place is left void; thou art lost in the list of the free;
Even realms by the plague and the earthquake destroyed may revive, but no hope is for thee."

It was at this moment, when the cloud came down close to earth, that O'Connell, then a young lawyer just admitted to the bar, flung himself in front of his countrymen, and begged them to make one grand effort. The hierarchy of the Church disowned him. They said, "We have seen every attempt lead always up to the scaffold; we are not willing to risk another effort." The peerage of the island repudiated him. They said, "We have struggled and bled for a half-dozen centuries; it is better to sit down content." Alone, a young man, without office, without wealth, without renown, he flung himself in front of the people, and asked for a new effort. What was the power left him? Simply the people,— poverty-stricken, broken-hearted peasants, standing on a soil soaked with the blood of their ancestors, cowering under a code of which Brougham said that "they could not lift their hands without breaking it." It was a community impoverished by five centuries of oppression,— four millions of Catholics robbed of every acre of their native land; it was an island torn by race-hatred and religious bigotry, her priests indifferent, and her nobles hopeless or traitors. The wiliest of her enemies, a Protestant Irishman, rules the British senate; the sternest of her tyrants, a Protestant Irishman, led the armies of Europe. Puritan hate, which had grown blinder and more bitter since the days of Cromwell, gave them weapons. Ireland herself lay

bound in the iron links of a code which Montesquieu said could have been "made only by devils, and should be registered only in hell." Her millions were beyond the reach of the great reform engine of modern times, since they could neither read nor write.

Well, in order to lead Ireland in that day an Irishman must have four elements, and he must have them also to a large extent to-day. The first is, he must be what an Irishman calls a gentleman, every inch of him, from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot,— that is, he must trace his lineage back to the legends of Ireland. Well, O'Connell could do that; he belonged to one of the perhaps seven royal families of the old history. Secondly, he must have proved his physical courage in the field or by the duel. Well, O'Connell knew this; his enemies knew it. Bred at St. Omer, with a large leaning to be a priest, he had the most emphatic scruples against the duel, and so announced himself; so that when he had got his head above the mass and began to be seen, a Major d'Esterre, agent of the Dublin Corporation, visited him with continuous insult. Every word that had insult in it was poured upon his head through the journals. O'Connell saw the dread alternative,— he must either give satisfaction to the gentleman or leave the field; and at last he consented to a challenge. He passed the interval between the challenge and the day of meeting in efforts to avoid it, which were all attributed to cowardice. When at last he stood opposite his antagonist, he said to his second, "God forbid that I should risk a life; mark me, I shall fire below the knee." But you know in early practice with the pistol you always fire above the mark; and O'Connell's pistol took effect above the knee, and D'Esterre fell mortally wounded. O'Connell recorded in the face of Europe a vow against further duelling. He settled a pension on the widow of his antagonist; and a dozen years later, when he held ten thousand dollars' worth of briefs in the northern courts, he flung them away, and went to the extreme south to save for her the last acre she owned. After this his sons fought his duels; and when Disraeli, anxious to prove himself a courageous man, challenged O'Connell, he put the challenge in his pocket.

Disraeli, to get the full advantage of the matter, sent his letter to the "London Times;" whereupon Maurice O'Connell sent the Jew a message that there was an O'Connell who would fight the duel if he wanted it, but his name was not Daniel. Disraeli did not continue the correspondence.

Thirdly, an Irish leader must not only be a lawyer of great acuteness, but he must have a great reputation for being such. He had to lift three millions of people, and fling them against a government that held in its hand a code which made it illegal for any one of them to move; and they never had moved prior to this that it did not end at the scaffold. For twenty long years O'Connell lifted these three millions of men, and flung them against the British government at every critical moment, and no sheriff ever put his hand on one of his followers; and when late in life the Queen's Bench of Judges, sitting in Dublin, sent him to jail, he stood almost alone in his interpretation of the statutes against the legal talent of the island. He appealed to the House of Lords, and the judges of England confirmed his construction of the law, and set him free. Fourthly, an Irish leader must be an orator; he must have the magic that moulds millions of souls into one. Of this I shall have more to say in a moment.

In this mass of Irish ignorance, weakness, and quarrel, one keen eye saw hidden the elements of union and strength. With rarest skill he called them forth, and marshalled them into rank. Then this one man, without birth, wealth or office, in a land ruled by birth, wealth and office, moulded from those unsuspected elements a power which, overawing king, senate, and people, wrote his single will on the statute-book of the most obstinate nation in Europe. Safely to emancipate the Irish Catholics, and in spite of Saxon-Protestant hate, to lift all Ireland to the level of British citizenship, — this was the problem which statesmanship and patriotism had been seeking for two centuries to solve. For this, blood had been poured out like water. On this, the genius of Swift, the learning of Molyneux, and the eloquence of Bushe, Grattan and Burke, had been wasted. English leaders ever since Fox had studied this problem anxiously. They saw that the safety of the empire

was compromised. At one or two critical moments in the reign of George III, one signal from an Irish leader would have snapped the chain that bound Ireland to his throne. His ministers recognized it; and they tried every expedient, exhausted every device, dared every peril, kept oaths or broke them, in order to succeed. All failed; and not only failed, but acknowledged they could see no way in which success could ever be achieved.

O'Connell achieved it. Out of this darkness, he called forth light. Out of this most abject, weak, and pitiable of kingdoms, he made a power; and dying, he left in Parliament a spectre, which, unless appeased, pushes Whig and Tory ministers alike from their stools.

But Brougham says he was a demagogue. Fie on Wellington, Derby, Peel, Palmerston, Russell and Brougham, to be fooled and ruled by a demagogue! What must they, the subjects be, if O'Connell their king, be only a bigot and a demagogue? A demagogue rides the storm; he has never really the ability to create one. He uses it narrowly, ignorantly, and for selfish ends. If not crushed by the force which, without his will, has flung him into power, he leads it with ridiculous miscalculation against some insurmountable obstacle that scatters it forever. Dying, he leaves no mark on the elements with which he has been mixed. Robespierre will serve for an illustration. It took O'Connell thirty years of patient and sagacious labor to mould elements whose existence no man, however wise, had ever discerned before. He used them unselfishly, only to break the yoke of his race. Nearly fifty years have passed since his triumph, but his impress still stands forth clear and sharp on the empire's policy. Ireland is wholly indebted to him for her political education. Responsibility educates; he lifted her to broader responsibilities. Her possession of power makes it the keen interest of other classes to see she is well informed. He associated her with all the reform movements of Great Britain. This is the education of affairs, broader, deeper, and more real than what school or college can give. This and power, his gifts, are the lever which lifts her to every other right and privilege. How much England

owes him we can never know; since how great a danger and curse Ireland could have been to the empire had she continued the cancer Pitt and Castlereagh left her is a chapter of history which, fortunately, can never be written. No demagogue ever walked through the streets of Dublin, as O'Connell and Grattan did more than once, hooted and mobbed because they opposed themselves to the mad purpose of the people, and crushed it by a stern resistance. No demagogue would have offered himself to a race like the Irish as the apostle of peace, pledging himself to the British government, that, in the long agitation before him, with brave millions behind him spoiling for a fight, he would never draw a sword.

I have purposely dwelt long on this view, because the extent and the far-reaching effects of O'Connell's work, without regard to the motives which inspired him, or the methods he used, have never been fully recognized.

Briefly stated, he did what the ablest and bravest of his forerunners had tried to do and failed. He created a public opinion, and unity of purpose — no matter what be now the dispute about methods — which made Ireland a nation; he gave her British citizenship, and a place in the imperial Parliament; he gave her a press and a public; with these tools her destiny is in her own hands. When the Abolitionists got for the negro, schools and the vote, they settled the slave question; for they planted the sure seeds of civil equality. O'Connell did this for Ireland, — this which no Irishman before had ever dreamed of attempting. Swift and Molyneux were able. Grattan, Bushe, Saurin, Burrowes, Plunket, Curran, Burke were eloquent. Throughout the island courage was a drug. They gained now one point, and now another; but, after all, they left the helm of Ireland's destiny in foreign and hostile hands. O'Connell was brave, sagacious, eloquent; but more than all, he was a statesman, for he gave to Ireland's own keeping the key of her future. As Lord Bacon marches down the centuries he may lay one hand on the telegraph, and the other on the steam-engine, and say, "These are mine, for I taught you how to study Nature." In a similar sense, as shackle after shackle falls from the Irish limbs, O'Connell may

say, "This victory is mine; for I taught you the method, and gave you the arms."

I have hereto been speaking of his ability and sucess; by and by we will look to his character, motives, and methods. This unique ability even his enemies have been forced to confess. Harriet Martineau, in her incomparable history of the "Thirty Years' Peace," has, with Tory hate, misconstrued every action of O'Connell, and invented a bad motive for each one. But even she confesses that "he rose in power, influence, and notoriety to an eminence such as no other individual has attained in modern times" in Great Britain. And one of his by no means partial biographers has well said: —

"Any man who turns over the magazines and newspapers of that period will easily perceive how grandly O'Connell's figure dominated in politics, how completely he had dispelled the indifference, his agitation stands forth as the great fact of the time. . . The truth is, his position, so far from being a common one, is absolutely unique in history. We may search in vain through the records of the past for any man, who, without the effusion of a drop of blood, or the advantages of office or rank, succeeded in governing a people so absolutely and so long, and in creating so entirely the elements of his power. . . . There was no rival to his supremacy, there was no restriction to his authority. He played with the enthusiasm he had aroused, with the negligent ease of a master; he governed the complicated organization he had created, with a sagacity that never failed. He made himself the focus of the attention of other lands, and the centre around which the rising intellect of his own revolved. He had transformed the whole social system of Ireland; almost reversed the relative positions of Protestants and Catholics; remodelled by his influence the representative, ecclesiastical, and educational institutions, and created a public opinion that surpassed the wildest dreams of his predecessors. Can we wonder at the proud exultation with which he exclaimed, 'Grattan sat by the cradle of his country, and followed her hearse; it was left for me to sound the resurrection trumpet, and to show that she was not dead, but sleeping'?"

But the method by which he achieved his success is perhaps more remarkable than even the success itself. An Irish poet, one of his bitterest assaillants thirty years ago, has laid a chaplet of atonement on his altar, and one verse runs, —

> "O great world-leader of a mighty age!
> Praise unto thee let all the people give.
> By that great name of Liberator live
> In golden letters upon history's page;
> And this thy epitaph while time shall be —
> He found his country chained, but left her free."

It is natural that Ireland should remember him as her Liberator. But strange as it may seem to you, I think Europe and America will remember him by a higher title. I said in opening, that the course of constitutional government is more indebted to O'Connell than to any other political leader of the last two centuries. What I mean is, that he invented the great method of constitutional agitation. Agitator is a title which will last longer, which suggests a broader and more permanent influence, and entitles him to the gratitude of far more millions, than the name Ireland loves to give him. The "First Great Agitator" is his proudest title to gratitude and fame. Agitation is the method that puts the school by the side of the ballot-box. The Fremont canvass was the nation's best school. Agitation prevents rebellion, keeps the peace and secures progress. Every step she gains is gained forever. Muskets are the weapons of animals; agitation is the atmosphere of brains. The old Hindoo saw, in his dream, the human race led out to its various fortunes. First, men were in chains which went back to an iron hand; then he saw them led by threads from the brain which went upward to an unseen hand. The first was despotism, iron, and ruling by force. The last was civilization ruling by ideas.

Agitation is an old word with a new meaning. Sir Robert Peel, the first English leader who felt he was its tool, defined it to be "the marshalling of the conscience of a nation to mould its laws." O'Connell was the first to show and use its power, to lay down its principles, to analyse its elements, and mark out its metes and bounds. It is voluntary, public, and above-board,

— no oath-bound secret societies like those of old time in Ireland, and of the Continent to-day. Its means are reason and argument, — no appeal to arms. Wait patiently for the slow growth of public opinion.

The Frenchman is angry with his government; he throws up barricades, and shots his guns to the lips. A week's fury drags the nation ahead a hand-breath; reaction lets it settle half-way back again. As Lord Chesterfield said, a hundred years ago, "You Frenchmen erect barricades, but never any barriers." An Englishman is dissatisfied with public affairs. He brings his charges, offers his proofs, waits for prejudice to relax, for public opinion to inform itself. Then every step taken is taken forever; an abuse once removed never reappears in history. Where did he learn this method? Practically speaking, from O'Connell. It was he who planted its corner-stone, — argument, no violence; no political change is worth a drop of human blood. His other motto was, "Tell the whole truth"; no concealing half of one's convictions to make the other half more acceptable; no denial of one truth to gain hearing for another; no compromise; or, as he phrased it, "Nothing is politically right which is morally wrong."

Above all, plant yourself on the millions. The sympathy of human beings, no matter how ignorant or how humble, adds weight to public opinion. At the outset of his career the clergy turned a deaf ear to his appeal. They had seen their flocks led up to useless slaughter for centuries, and counselled submission. The nobility repudiated him; they were either traitors or hopeless. Protestants had touched their Ultima Thule with Grattan, and seemed settling down in despair. English Catholics advised waiting till the tyrant grew merciful. O'Connell, left alone, said, "I will forge these four millions of Irish hearts into a thunderbolt which shall suffice to dash this depotism to pieces." And he did it. Living under an aristocratic government, himself of the higher class, he anticipated Lincoln's wisdom, and framed his movements "for the people, of the people, and by the people."

It is a singular fact, that the freer a nation becomes, the more utterly democratic the form of its institutions, this out-

side agitation, this pressure of public opinion to direct political action, becomes more and more necessary. The general judgment is, that the freest possible government produces the freest possible men and women, — the most individual, the least servile to the judgment of others. But a moment's reflection will show any man that this is an unreasonable expectation, and that, on the contrary entire equality and freedom in political forms almost inevitably tend to make the individual subside into the mass, and lose his identity in the general whole. Suppose we stood in England to-night. There is the nobility, and here is the Church. There is the trading class, and here is the literary. A broad gulf separates the four; and provided a member of either can conciliate his own section, he can afford, in a very large measure, to despise the judgment of the other three. He has, to some extent, a refuge and a breakwater against the tyranny of what we call public opinion. But in a country like ours, of absolute democratic equality, public opinion is not only omnipresent. There is no refuge from its tyranny; there is no hiding from its reach; and the result is, that if you take the old Greek lantern, and go about to seek among a hundred, you will find not one single American who really has not, or who does not fancy at least that he has, something to gain or lose in his ambition, his social life, or his business, from the good opinion and the votes of those about him. And the consequence is, that, — instead of being a mass of individuals, each one fearlessly blurting out his own convictions, — as a nation, compared with other nations, we are a mass of cowards. More than any other people, we are afraid of each other.

If you were at a caucus to-night, Democratic or Republican, and I were your orator, none of you could get beyond the necessary and timid limitations of party. You not only would not demand, you would not allow me to utter one word of what you really thought, and what I thought. You would demand of me — and my value as a caucus speaker would depend entirely on the adroitness and the vigilance with which I met the demand — that I should not utter one single word which would compromise the vote of next week. That is politics; so with the press.

Seemingly independent and sometimes really so, the press can afford only to mount the cresting wave, not go beyond it. The editor might as well shoot his reader with a bullet, as with a new idea. He must hit the exact line of the opinion of the day. I am not finding fault with him; I am only describing him. Some three years ago I took to one of the freest of the Boston journals a letter, and by appropriate consideration induced its editor to print it. And as we glanced along its contents, and came to the concluding statement, he said, "Couldn't you omit that?" I said, "No; I wrote it for that; it is the gist of the statement." "Well," said he, "it is true; there is not a boy in the streets that does not know it is true; but I wish you could omit it."

I insisted; and the next morning, fairly and justly, he printed the whole. Side by side he put an article of his own, in which he said, "We copy in the next column an article from Mr. Phillips, and we only regret the absurd and unfounded statement with which he concludes it." He had kept his promise by printing the article, he had saved his reputation by printing the comment. And that, again, is the inevitable, the essential limitation of the press in a republican community. Our institutions, floating unanchored on the shifting surface of popular opinion, cannot afford to hold back, or to draw forward, a hated question, and compel a reluctant public to look at it and to consider it. Hence, as you see at once, the moment a large issue, twenty years ahead of its age, presents itself to the consideration of an empire or of a republic, just in proportion to the freedom of its institutions is the necessity of a platform outside of the press, of politics, and of its church, whereon stand men with no candidate to elect, with no plan to carry, with no reputation to stake, with no object but the truth, no purpose but to tear the question open and let the light through it. So much in explanation of a word infinitely hated, — agitation and agitators, — but an element which the progress of moderate government has developed more and more every day.

The great invention we trace in its twilight and seed to the days of Long Parliament. Defoe and L'Estrange, later down, were the first prominent Englishmen to fling pamphlets at

the House of Commons. Swift ruled England by pamphlets. Wilberforce summoned the Church, and sought the alliance of the influential classes. But O'Connell first showed a profound faith in the human tongue. He descried afar off the coming omnipotence of the press. He called the millions to his side, appreciated the infinite weight of the simple human heart and conscience, and grafted democracy into the British empire. The later Abolitionists — Buston, Sturge and Thompson — borrowed his method. Cobden flung it in the face of the almost omnipotent landholders of England, and broke the Tory party forever. They only haunt upper air now in the stolen garments of the Whigs. The English administration recognizes this new partner in the government, and waits to be moved on. Garrison brought the new weapon to our shores. The only wholly useful and thoroughly defensible war Christendom has seen in this century, the greatest civil and social change the English race ever saw, are the result.

This great servant and weapon, peace and constitutional government owe to O'Connell. Who has given progress a greater boon? What single agent has done as much to bless and improve the world for the last fifty years.

O'Connell has been charged with coarse, violent and intemperate language. The criticism is of little importance. Stupor and palsy never understand life. White-livered indifference is always disgusted and annoyed by earnest conviction. Protestants criticised Luther in the same way. It took three centuries to carry us far off enough to appreciate his colossal proportions. It is a hundred years to-day since O'Connell was born. It will take another hundred to put us at such an angle as will enable us correctly to measure his stature. Premising that it would be folly to find fault with a man struggling for life because his attitudes were ungraceful, remembering the Scythian king's answer to Alexander criticising his strange weapon, — "If you knew how precious freedom was, you would defend it even with axes," — we must see that O'Connell's own explanation is evidently sincere and true. He found the Irish heart so cowed, and Englishmen so arrogant, that he saw it needed an independence verging on insolence, a

defiance that touched extremest limits, to breath self-respect into his own race, teach the aggressor manners, and sober him into respectful attention.

It was the same with us Abolitionists. Webster has taught the North the bated breath and crouching of a slave. It needed with us an attitude of independence that was almost insolent, it needed that we should exhaust even the Saxon vocabulary of scorn, to fitly utter the righteous and haughty contempt that honest men had for man-stealers. Only in that way could we wake the North to self-respect, or teach the South that at length she had met her equal, if not her master. On a broad canvas, meant for the public square, the tiny lines of a Dutch interior would be invisible. In no other circumstances was the French maxim, "You can never make a revolution with rose-water," more profoundly true. The world has hardly yet learned how deep a philosophy lies hid in Hamlet's, —

> "Nay, an' thou'lt mouth,
> I'll rant as well as thou."

O'Connell has been charged with insincerity in urging repeal, and those who defended his sincerity have leaned toward allowing that it proved his lack of common sense. I think both critics mistaken. His earliest speeches point to repeal as his ultimate object; indeed, he valued emancipation largely as a means to that end. No fair view of his whole life will leave the slightest ground to doubt his sincerity. As for the reasonableness and necessity of the measure I think every year proves them. Considering O'Connell's position, I wholly sympathize in his profound and unshaken loyalty to the empire. Its share in the British empire makes Ireland's strength and importance. Standing alone among the vast and massive sovereignties of Europe, she would be weak, insignificant, and helpless. Were I an Irishman I should cling to the empire.

Fifty or sixty years hence, when scorn of race has vanished, and bigotry is lessened, it may be possible for Ireland to be safe and free while holding the position to England that Scotland does. But during this generation and the next, O'Connell was wise in claiming that Ireland's rights would never be

safe without "home rule." A substantial repeal of the union should be every Irishman's earnest aim. Were I their adviser, I should constantly repeat what Grattan said in 1810, "The best advice, gentlemen, I can give on all occasions is, 'Keep knocking at the union.'"

We imagine an Irishman to be only a zealot on fire. We fancy Irish spirit and eloquence to be only blind, reckless, headlong enthusiasm. But, in truth, Grattan was the soberest leader of his day, holding scrupulously back the disorderly elements, which fretted under his curb. There was one hour, at least, when a word from him would have lighted a democratic revolt throughout the empire. And the most remarkable of O'Connell's gifts was neither his eloquence nor his sagacity; it was his patience, — "patience, all the passion of great souls": the tireless patience, which, from 1800 to 1820, went from town to town, little aided by the press, to plant the seeds of an intelligent and united, as well as hot, patriotism. Then, after many years and long toil, waiting for rivals to be just, for prejudice to wear out, and for narrowness to grow wise, using British folly and oppression as his wand, he moulded the enthusiasm of the most excitable of races, the just and inevitable indignation of four millions of Catholics, the hate of plundered poverty, priest, noble, and peasant, into one fierce though harmonious mass. He held it in careful check, with sober moderation, watching every opportunity, attracting ally after ally, never forfeiting any possible friendship, allowing no provocation to stir him to anything that would not help his cause, compelling each hottest and most ignorant of his followers to remember that "he who commits a crime helps the enemy." At last, when the hour struck, this power was made to achieve justice for itself, and put him in London, — him, this despised Irishman, this hated Catholic, this mere demagogue and the man of words, him, — to hold the Tory party in one hand, and the Whig party in the other; all this without shedding a drop of blood, or disturbing for a moment the peace of the empire.

While O'Connell held Ireland in his hand, her people were more orderly, law-abiding, and peaceful than for a cen-

tury before, or during any year since. The strength of this marvellous control passes comprehension. Out West I met an Irishman whose father held him up to see O'Connell address the two hundred thousand men at Tara, — literally to see, not to hear him. I said, "But you could not all hear even his voice." "Oh, no, sir! Only about thirty thousand could hear him; but we all kept as still and silent as if we did." With magnanimous frankness O'Connell once said, "I never could have held those monster meetings without a crime, without disorder, tumult, or quarrel, except for Father Mathew's aid." Any man can build a furnace, and turn water into steam, — yes, if careless, make it rend his dwelling in pieces. Genius builds the locomotive, harnesses this terrible power in iron traces, holds it with master-hand in useful limits, and gives it to the peaceable service of man. The Irish people were O'Connell's locomotive; sagacious patience and moderation the genius that built it; Parliament and justice the station he reached.

Every one who has studied O'Connell's life sees his marked likeness to Luther, — the unity of both their lives; their wit; the same massive strength, even if coarse-grained; the ease with which each reached the masses, the power with which they wielded them; the same unrivalled eloquence, fit for any audience; the same instinct of genius that led them constantly to acts which, as Voltaire said, "Foolish men call rash, but wisdom sees to be brave;" the same broad success. But O'Connell had one great element which Luther lacked, — the universality of his sympathy; the far-reaching sagacity which discerned truth afar off, just struggling above the horizon; the loyal, brave and frank spirit which acknowledged and served it; the profound and rare faith which believed that "the whole truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue." From the serene height of intellect and judgment to which God's gifts had lifted him, he saw clearly that no one right was ever in the way of another, that injustice harms the wrong-doer even more than the victim, that whoever puts a chain on another fastens it also on himself. Serenely confident that the truth is always safe, and justice always expedient, he saw

that intolerance is only want of faith. He who stifles free discussion secretly doubts whether what he professes to believe is really true. Coleridge says, "See how triumphant in debate and motion O'Connell is! Why? Because he asserts a broad principle, acts up to it, rests his body on it, and has faith in it."

Co-worker with Father Mathew; champion of the dissenters advocating the substantial principles of the Charter, though not a Chartist; foe of the corn-laws; battling against slavery, whether in India or the Carolinas; the great democrat who in Europe seventy years ago called the people to his side; starting a movement of the people, for the people, by the people; show me another record as broad and as brave as this in the English statesman. Where the Irish leader who can claim one? No wonder every Englishman hated and feared him! He wounded their prejudices at every point. Whig and Tory, timid Liberal, narrow Dissenter, bitter Radical,—all feared and hated this broad, brave soul, who dared to follow Truth wherever he saw her, whose toleration was as broad as human nature, and his sympathy as boundless as the sea.

To show you that he never took a leaf from our American gospel of compromise; that he never filed his tongue to silence on one truth, fancying so to help another; that he never sacrificed any race to save even Ireland,—let me compare him with Kossuth, whose only merits were his eloquence and his patriotism. When Kossuth was in Faneuil Hall, he exclaimed, "Here is a flag without a stain, a nation without a crime!" We Abolitionists appealed to him, "O eloquent son of the Magyar, come to break chains! have you no word, no pulse-beat, for four millions of negroes bending under a yoke ten times heavier than that of Hungary?" He answered, "I would forget anybody, I would praise anything, to help Hungary."

O'Connell never said anything like that. When I was in Naples, I asked Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, a Tory, "Is O'Connell an honest man?" "As honest a man as ever breathed," said he, and then he told me this story: "When, in 1830, O'Connell entered Parliament, the anti-slavery cause was so weak that it had only Lushington and myself to speak

for it, and we agreed that when he spoke I should cheer him, and when I spoke he should cheer me; and these were the only cheers we ever got. O'Connell came, with one Irish member to support him. A large number of members (I think Buxton said twenty-seven) whom we called the West-India interest, the Bristol party, the slave party, went to him saying, 'O'Connell, at last you are in the House, with one helper. If you will never go down to Free Masons' Hall with Buxton and Brougham, here are twenty-seven votes for you on every Irish question. If you work with those Abolitionists, count us always against you."

It was a terrible temptation. How many a so-called statesman would have yielded! O'Connell said, "Gentlemen, God knows I speak for the saddest people the sun sees; but may my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if to save Ireland, even Ireland, I forget the negro for one single hour!" "From that day," said Buxton, "Lushington and I never went into the lobby that O'Connell did not follow us."

Some years afterwards I went into Conciliation Hall where O'Connell was arguing for repeal. He lifted from the table a thousand-pound note sent them from New Orleans, and said to be from the slave-holders of that city. Coming to the front of the platform, he said: "This is a draft of one thousand pounds from the slave-holders of New Orleans, the unpaid wages of the negro. Mr. Treasurer, I suppose the treasury is empty?" The treasurer nodded to show him that it was, and he went on; "Old Ireland is very poor; but thank God she is not poor enough to take the unpaid wages of anybody. Send it back." A gentleman from Boston went to him with a letter of introduction, which he sent up to him at his home in Merrion Square. O'Connell came down to the door, as was his wont put out both his hands, and drew him into his library. "I am glad to see you," said he; "I am always glad to see anybody from Massachusetts, a free state." "But," said the guest, "this is slavery you allude to Mr. O'Connell. I would like to say a word to you in justification of that institution." "Very well, sir, free speech in this house; say anything you

please. But before you begin to defend a man's right to own his brother, allow me to step out and lock up my spoons."

That was the man. The ocean of his philanthropy knew no shore.

And right in this connection, let me read the following despatch: —

CINCINNATI, O., AUGUST 6.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Boston:*

The national conference of colored newspaper men to the O'Connell Celebration, greeting: —

Resolved, That it is befitting a convention of colored men assembled on the centennial anniversary of the birth of the liberator of Ireland and friend of humanity, Daniel O'Connell, to recall with gratitude his eloquent and effective pleas for the freedom of our race; and we earnestly commend his example to our countrymen.

J. C. JACKSON, *Secretary.*
PETER H. CRANE, *President.*
GEORGE T. RUBY.
LEWIS D. EASTON.

Learn of him, friends, the hardest lesson we ever have set us, — that of toleration. The foremost Catholic of his age, the most stalwart champion of the Church, he was also broadly and sincerely tolerant of every faith. His toleration had no limit and no qualification.

I scorn and scout the word "toleration"; it is an insolent term. No man, properly speaking, tolerates another. I do not tolerate a Catholic, neither does he tolerate me. We are equal, and acknowledge each other's right; that is the correct statement.

That every man should be allowed freely to worship God according to his conscience, that no man's civil rights should be affected by his religious creed, were both cardinal principles of O'Connell. He had no fear that any doctrine of his faith could be endangered by the freest possible discussion.

Learn of him, also, sympathy with every race and every form of oppression. No matter who was the sufferer, or what the form of the injustice, — starving Yorkshire peasant, imprisoned Chartist, persecuted Protestant, or negro slave; no matter of what right, personal or civil, the victim had been robbed; on

matter what religious pretext or political juggle alleged "necessity" as an excuse for his oppression; no matter with what solemnities he had been devoted on the altar of slavery, — the moment O'Connell saw him, the altar and the god sank together in the dust, the victim was acknowledged a man and a brother, equal in all rights, and entitled to all the aid the great Irishman could give him.

I have no time to speak of his marvellous success at the bar; of that profound skill in the law which enabled him to conduct such an agitation, always on the verge of illegality and violence, without once subjecting himself or his followers to legal penalty,—an agitation under a code of which Brougham said, "No Catholic could lift his hands under it without breaking the law." I have no time to speak of his still more remarkable success in the House of Commons. Of Flood's failure there, Grattan had said, "He was an oak of the forest, too old and too great to be transplanted at fifty." Grattan's own success there was but moderate. The power O'Connell wielded against varied, bitter and unscrupulous opposition was marvellous. I have no time to speak of his personal independence, his deliberate courage, moral and physical, his unspotted private character, his unfailing hope, the versatility of his talent, his power of tireless work, his ingenuity and boundless resource, his matchless self-possession in every emergency, his ready and inexhaustible wit; but any reference to O'Connell that omitted his eloquence would be painting Wellington in the House of Lords without mention of Torres Vedras or Waterloo.

Broadly considered, his eloquence has never been equalled in modern times, certainly not in English speech. Do you think I am partial? I will vouch John Randolph of Roanoke, the Virginia slaveholder, who hated an Irishman almost as much as he hated a Yankee, himself an orator of no mean level. Hearing O'Connell, he exclaimed, "This is the man, these are lips, the most eloquent that speak English in my day." I think he was right. I remember the solemnity of Webster, the grace of Everett, the rhetoric of Choate; I know the eloquence that lay hid in the iron logic of Calhoun; I have melted beneath the magnetism of Sergeant S. Prentiss, of Mis-

sissippi, who wielded a power few men ever had. It has been my fortune to sit at the feet of the great speakers of the English tongue on the other side of the ocean. But I think all of them together never surpassed and no one of them ever equalled, O'Connell. Nature intended him for our Demosthenes. Never since the great Greek, has she sent forth any one so lavishly gifted for his work as a tribune of the people. In the first place, he had a magnificent presence, impressive in bearing, massive like that of Jupiter. Webster himself hardly outdid him in the majesty of his proportions. To be sure, he had not Webster's craggy face, and precipice of brow, nor his eyes glowing like anthracite coal; nor had he the lion roar of Mirabeau. But his presence filled the eye. A small O'Connell would hardly have been an O'Connell at all. These physical advantages are half the battle.

I remember Russell Lowell telling us that Mr. Webster came home from Washington at the time the Whig party thought of dissolution a year or two before his death, and went down to Faneuil Hall to protest. Drawing himself up to his loftiest proportion, his brow clothed with thunder, before the listening thousands, he said, "Well, gentlemen, I am a Whig, a Massachusetts Whig, a Faneuil-hall Whig, a revolutionary Whig, a constitutional Whig. If you break the Whig party, sir, where am I to go?" And says Lowell, "We held our breath, thinking where he could go. If he had been five feet three, we should have said, 'Who cares where you go?'" So it was with O'Connell. There was something majestic in his presence before he spoke; and he added to it what Webster had not, what Clay might have lent, — infinite grace, that magnetism that melts all hearts into one. I saw him at over sixty-six years of age, every attitude was beauty, every gesture grace. You could only think of a greyhound as you looked at him; it would have been delicious to have watched him, if he had not spoken a word. Then he had a voice that covered the gamut. The majesty of his indignation, fitly uttered in tones of superhuman power, made him able to "indict" a nation, in spite of Burke's protest.

I heard him once say, "I send my voice across the Atlantic,

careering like the thunder-storm against the breeze, to tell the slave-holder of the Carolinas that God's thunderbolts are hot, and to remind the bondman that the dawn of his redemption is already breaking." You seemed to hear the tones come echoing back to London from the Rocky Mountains. Then, with the slightest possible Irish brogue, he would tell a story, while all Exeter Hall shook with laughter. The next moment, tears in his voice like a Scotch song, five thousand men wept. And all the while no effort; he seemed only breathing.

> "As effortless as woodland nooks
> Send violets up, and paint them blue."

We used to say of Webster, "This is a great effort"; of Everett, "It is a beautiful effort"; but you never used the word "effort" in speaking of O'Connell. It provoked you that he would not make an effort. I heard him perhaps a score of times, and I do not think more than three times he ever lifted himself to the full sweep of his power.

And this wonderful power, it was not a thunder-storm; he flanked you with his wit, he surprised you out of yourself; you were conquered before you knew it. He was once summoned to court out of the hunting-field, when a young friend of his, of humble birth, was on trial for his life. The evidence gathered around a hat found by the body of the murdered man, which was recognized as the hat of the prisoner. The lawyers tried to break down the evidence, confuse the testimony, and get some relief from the directness of the circumstances; but in vain, until at last they called for O'Connell. He came in, flung his riding-whip and hat on the table, was told the circumstances, and taking up the hat said to the witness, "Whose hat is this?" "Well, Mr. O'Connell, that is Mike's hat." "How do you know it?" "I will swear to it, sir." "And did you really find it by the murdered man?" "I did that, sir." "But you're not ready to swear to that?" "I am, indeed, Mr. O'Connell." "Pat, do you know what hangs on your word? A human soul. And with that dread burden, are you ready to tell this jury that the hat, to your certain knowledge, belongs to the prisoner?" "Y-yes, Mr. O'Connell, yes I am."

O'Connell takes the hat to the nearest window, and peers into it. "J-a-m-e-s, James. Now, Pat, did you see that name in the hat?" "I did, Mr. O'Connell." "You knew it was there?" "Yes, sir; I read it after I picked it up." "No name in the hat, your Honor."

So again in the House of Commons. When he took his seat in the House of 1830, the "London Times" visited him with its constant indignation, reported his speeches awry, turned them inside out, and made nonsense of them; treated him as the "New York Herald" used to treat us Abolitionists twenty years ago. So one morning he rose and said, "Mr. Speaker, you know I have never opened my lips in this House, and I expended twenty years of hard work in getting the right to enter it,—I have never lifted my voice in this House, but in behalf of the saddest people the sun shines on. Is it fair play, Mr. Speaker, is it what you call 'English fair play' that the press of the city will not let my voice be heard?" The next day the "Times" sent him word that, as he found fault with their manner of reporting him, they never would report him at all, they never would print his name in their parliamentary columns. So the next day when prayers were ended, O'Connell rose. Those reporters of the "Times" who were in the gallery rose also, ostentatiously put away their pencils, folded their arms, and made all the show they could, to let everybody know how it was. Well, you know nobody has any right to be in the gallery during the session, and if any member notices them, the mere notice clears the gallery; only the reporters can stay after that notice. O'Connell rose. One of the members said, "Before the member from Clare opens his speech, let me call his attention to the gallery and the instance of that 'passive resistance' which he is about to preach." "Thank you," said O'Connell. "Mr. Speaker, I observe strangers in the gallery." Of course they left; of course the next day, in the columns of the "London Times," there were no parliamentary debates. And for the first time, except in Richard Cobden's case the "London Times" cried for quarter, and said to O'Connell, "If you give up the quarrel, we will."

Later down, when he was advocating the repeal of the land

law, when forty or fifty thousand people were gathered at the meeting, O'Connell was sitting at the breakfast-table. The "London Times" for that year had absolutely disgraced itself, — and that is saying a great deal, — and its reporters, if recognized, would have been torn to pieces. So, as O'Connell was breakfasting, the door opened, and two or three English reporters — Gurney, and among others our well-known friend Russell, of Bull Run notoriety, — entered the room and said, "Mr. O'Connell, we are the reporters of the 'Times.'" "And," said Russell, "we dared not enter that crowd." "Shouldn't think you would," replied O'Connell. "Have you had any breakfast?" "No, sir," said he, "we hardly dared to ask for any." "Shouldn't think you would," answered O'Connell; "sit down here." So they shared his breakfast. Then he took Bull Run in his own carriage to the place of meeting, sent for a table and seated him by the platform, and asked him whether he had his pencils well sharpened and had plenty of paper, as he intended to make a long speech. Bull Run answered, "Yes." And O'Connell stood up, and addressed the audience in Irish.

His marvellous voice, its almost incredible power and sweetness, Bulwer has well described: —

> "Once to my sight that giant form was given.
> Walled by wide air, and roofed by boundless heaven,
> Beneath his feet the human ocean lay,
> And wave on wave rolled into space away.
> Methought no clarion could have sent its sound
> Even to the centre of the hosts around;
> And, as I thought, rose the sonorous swell,
> As from some church-tower swings the silvery bell.
> Aloft and clear, from airy tide to tide,
> It glided, easy as a bird may glide;
> Even to the verge of that vast audience sent,
> It played with each wild passion as it went, —
> Now stirred the uproar, now the murmur stilled,
> And sobs or laughter answered as it willed."

Webster could awe a senate, Everett could charm a college, and Choate could cheat a jury; Clay could magnetize the million, and Corwin lead them captive. O'Connell was Clay, Corwin, Choate, Everett, and Webster in one. Before the

courts, logic; at the bar of the senate, unanswerable and dignified; on the platform, grace, wit, and pathos; before the masses, a whole man. Carlyle says, "He is God's own anointed king whose single word melts all wills into his." This describes O'Connell. Emerson says, "There is no true eloquence, unless there is a man behind the speech." Daniel O'Connell was listened to because all England and all Ireland knew that there was a man behind the speech,—one who could be neither bought, bullied, nor cheated. He held the masses free but willing subjects in his hand.

He owed this power to the courage that met every new question frankly, and concealed none of his convictions; to an entireness of devotion that made the people feel he was all their own; to a masterly brain that made them sure they were always safe in his hands. Behind them were ages of bloodshed; every rising had ended at the scaffold; even Grattan brought them to 1798. O'Connell said, "Follow me: put your feet where mine have trod, and a sheriff shall never lay hand on your shoulder." And the great lawyer kept his pledge.

This unmatched, long-continued power almost passes belief. You can only appreciate it by comparison. Let me carry you back to the mob-year of 1835, in this country, when the Abolitionists were hunted; when the streets roared with riot; when from Boston to Baltimore, from St. Louis to Philadelphia, a mob took possession of every city; when private houses were invaded and public halls were burned; press after press was thrown into the river; and Lovejoy baptized freedom with his blood. You remember it. Respectable journals warned the mob that they were playing into the hands of the Abolitionists. Webster and Clay and the staff of Whig statesmen told the people that the truth floated farther on the shouts of the mob than the most eloquent lips could carry it. But law-abiding, Protestant, educated America could not be held back. Neither Whig chiefs nor respectable journals could keep these people quiet. Go to England. When the Reform Bill of 1831 was thrown out from the House of Lords, the people were tumultuous; and Melbourne and Grey, Russel and Brougham, Lansdowne, Holland and Macaulay, the

Whig chiefs, cried out, "Don't violate the law: you help the Tories! Riots put back the bill." But quiet, sober, John Bull, law-abiding, could not do without it. Birmingham was three days in the hands of a mob; castles were burned; Wellington ordered the Scotch Greys to rough-grind their swords as at Waterloo. This was the Whig aristocracy of England. O'Connell had neither office nor title. Behind him three million people steeped in utter wretchedness, sore with the oppression of centuries, ignored by statute.

For thirty restless and turbulent years he stood in front of them, and said, "Remember, he that commits a crime helps the enemy." And during that long and fearful struggle, I do not remember one of his followers ever being convicted of a political offence, and during this period crimes of violence were very rare. There is no such record in our history. Neither in classic nor in modern times can the man be produced who held a million of people in his right hand so passive. It was due to the consistency and unity of a character that had hardly a flaw. I do not forget your soldiers, orators, or poets, — any of your leaders. But when I consider O'Connell's personal disinterestedness, — his rare, brave fidelity to every cause his principles covered, no matter how unpopular, or how embarrassing to his main purpose, — that clear far-reaching vision, and true heart, which, on most moral and political questions set him so much ahead of his times; his eloquence, almost equally effective in the courts, in the senate, and before the masses; that sagacity which set at naught the malignant vigilance of the whole imperial bar, watching thirty years for a misstep; when I remember that he invented his tools, and then measure his limited means with his vast success, bearing in mind its nature; when I see the sobriety and moderation with which he used his measureless power, and the lofty, generous purpose of his whole life, — I am ready to affirm that he was, all things considered, the greatest man the Irish race ever produced.

PART III.

APPLICATION OF PRECEPTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE BUILDING OF A SPEECH.

The building of a speech is, in many respects, like the building of one of our modern warships. There are a hundred different parts, each requisite to the whole, which must fit into each other with a nicety and exactness, which require no mean skill on the part of the builder, be his material steel or words. Then it must be carefully trimmed so that each object shall have its proper poise to maintain an even keel.

The builder must be a man of keen intellect and fine judgment and must have that subtle power of attracting the audience to himself, and of keeping their attention fixed upon his words. Some, to whom Nature has been kind, are endowed with unusual gifts such as the ability to tell a good story or crack a *novel* joke.

The speaker must, if possible, be a man of intellect superior to his hearers, but cannot be, under any conditions, inferior to them. The brighter his intellect the more clearly will it shine among the lesser lights of those around him. The higher the plane of the audience's intellect, the more difficult will be his work of convincing them and the greater must be the care of the orator.

The orator must have a firm, iron will, without the least vacillation, for if his hearers see a moment's hesitation then his cause is lost. The will of the audience

must be gently brought round to the orator's view, and no attempt at forcible coercion or threat will have any effect. A very strong point is in appealing to their feelings, but this must generally be to their nobler instincts, though at times an appeal to their stronger passions will be extremely effective.

Among the many obstacles which may oppose the orator we shall select but a few. Partisanship in politics is a very dangerous foe to the orator, time-honored prejudices or opinions are another great difficulty. The presence of a disturbing element is injurious and annoying, and excessive passion in the audience is also an obstacle.

The peroration is, in all probability, by far the most important part of a speech. It is the last appeal to the hearers, and therefore, as a last impression it must be pertinent, clear, and as finely executed as possible. The orator should never for an instant lose sight of the object at which he is aiming, and everything he utters must bear in some way or other upon this main point. He must keep before the minds of his hearers, their own advantage, or that of their country.

In our own land no need is there to speak or praise our Webster, our Calhoun or our Clay. Perhaps in no other country are the words of its orators so well cherished as in our own.

The orator, having decided to speak and having determined upon the subject of his speech, next turns his thoughts to the building of his oration: and, as the end of all oratory is persuasion, his aim from the outset is so to mould his ideas and to put them in such vivid forms of expression as may be best suited to bring conviction to the minds of his hearers.

To do this the requirements are many, but the principal of all is the careful study of the subject. The speaker must examine well the intricacies of the question, make steadfast search for the difficulties that may exist, and expend his best efforts in lessening them. In the second place, careful consideration must be taken of the disposition of the audience or their state of mind. If it so happens that the speech is to be delivered before an assembly of one mind with the speaker, the greatest obstacle is overcome, and the principal necessity for care is greatly diminished, though not entirely removed; but if on the other hand, the prospective audience is known to be of opposite convictions, then all the orator's skill is called into requisition, not only to gain a favorable hearing, but also to win his hearers to his views. Thirdly, special attention must be given to circumstances of time and place. These preliminaries having received their due share of regard, the oration proper now claims his undivided attention. The requisites and the separate functions of each part of the oration we will consider in turn.

THE QUALITIES OF AN ORATOR.

(1) *Character: Gifts of Nature: Art.*

The orator must be a man of experience, of learning, and of honesty. The natural gifts of an orator, impressiveness of delivery, and of person, and the like, help him much, but upon the gifts of art, — the power to convince his listeners or to move their feelings — he depends mainly for his success.

(2) *Intellect of Speaker and Hearer.*

For the orator, to gain recognition as a man of sound intellect, is necessary, but the manifestation of it will

depend entirely upon the intelligence of his hearers. If the latter be ignorant, it will be unbecoming in the orator to go beyond the reach of their understanding, and it cultured, it will be out of place to descend to common matters.

(3) *Will of Orator and Audience.*

The aim in oratory is of influence the minds of the audience to do as the orator wishes. This is called persuasion, and is brought about by conviction and moving the feelings. The one owes its source to arguments that appeal to the understanding, and the other to amplification that appeals to the will.

OBSTACLES THAT MEET AN ORATOR.

(4) *Prejudices to be Dispelled: Refutation.*

The orator frequently finds himself confronted by serious obstacles and in overcoming them will his art be mainly manifest. To obviate the impression an adversary may make, he has a powerful instrument in praising the other's eloquence: and if his own client be in the wrong, by exciting pity or lessening the injury. In reproving the audience, however, he must be careful to mitigate the offence or else to lay the blame to some cause outside of the audience itself.

COMPLETE ORATION.

(5) *Essential and Possible Parts: their Functions.*

The essential parts of an oration are the exordium, argumentation and peroration: the possible parts are the exordium, proposition, confirmation, refutation, narration, digression, and peroration. The exordium secures the attention of the audience and prepares the

mind for what is to come. The argumentation, consisting of confirmation and refutation, discusses proofs. In it we present our own arguments and answer objections to our side. Narration is the part of a speech in which the description of an occurrence in the case is presented to the hearer's mind. Digression affords a relief to the mind and fits it to pursue the subject better. The peroration sums up briefly the arguments already offered and moves the feelings of the audience.

(6) *Beginning of the Oration: Exordium.*

The exordium may be either abrupt or simple, insinuating or grand. It must always be pertinent to the remainder of the speech, being as it were a foreshowing of what is to follow: it should at once arrest the attention and secure interest.

(7) *Closing of Oration: Peroration.*

The peroration is composed of two parts: enumeration and amplification. In the former, the arguments are briefly summed up, and in the latter, a final appeal is made to the feelings. It should be grand in thought and expression, and rouse the emotions and bend the will of the audience.

(8) *Proposition.*

The proposition is what the orator wishes to prove. This he holds continually before his own mind and according to circumstances before his hearers. It should be one, definite, important, apt.

(9) *Methods: Analytic and Synthetic.*

The orator may choose between two methods in his oration, namely, analytic and synthetic. The analytic

consists in first stating a proposition and afterwards deducing proofs of it; the synthetic, in producing a series of proofs from which one arrives at a conclusion — which is the proposition or statement which he wished to present as true.

(10) *Great Schools of Orators:* —

Greek. — As an exponent of the Greek school, Demosthenes stands pre-eminent. His writings are characterized by the greatest simplicity and an extraordinary lack of ornaments of style: yet of all orators none ever equalled him in force or in producing an effect.

Roman. — Cicero ranks highest as an orator among the Romans. His orations are unlike those of Demosthenes, in almost every respect. His style is florid, sometimes to diffuseness, he frequently has recourse to figurative language, and in contradistinction to the conciseness of Demosthenes, frequently wanders from the subject to sound his own praise. He is nevertheless a master in the art of building a speech.

French. — The French orators Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Massillon, for their power to move the feelings and to sway them to their desires, occupy the highest rank.

English. — Burke, like Cicero, is powerful in argument, successful in persuasion and florid in style.

Bright is direct, simple, straightforward; devoid of the abundant ornament of Cicero or of Burke.

American. — Webster, like Demosthenes, is plain and straightforward, but none the less a clear reasoner and strong to convince.

(11) *Wit.*

The orator who possesses a fund of wit, has, in that

alone, a powerful means not only to confute his adversary, but also to gain the favor of the people. It will often happen that a chance remark, a humorous expression, will put the opponent to confusion, at the same time pleasing the audience and effecting a relief for the mind. It is no source of argument, but only a great help to the orator.

(12) *Sarcasm, Irony, Repartee.*

Sarcasm, irony and repartee are mighty instruments in the hands of an orator, serving as they do in many cases to completely silence the adversary. But though this be true, sarcasm, irony and repartee will never win an adversary.

(13) *Diction.*

Since the oration is the expression of the orator's thoughts and convictions, in the way best suited to persuade, it follows that it is not so much a model of harmonious flow of sentences and elegance of diction, as it is of power in language. A careful diction, variously beautiful, is only employed in so much as it helps the orator to obtain his end.

(14) *Delivery.*

In delivering his oration the orator must take special care to appear earnest in what he says, to show that he is entirely devoted to the subject in hand. Otherwise he will altogether fail to gain his object, and only make the hearers inattentive instead of attentive, and lose that for which he is speaking, namely, the gaining over of their will.

OUTLINE OF SPEECH.

WEBSTER'S SPEECH AT THE TRIAL OF JOHN FRANCIS KNAPP. VARIOUS FORMS OF ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECH. FIRST FORM.

(The Speech belongs to *Judicial Oratory*.)

GENERAL VIEW OF THE CASE — WEBSTER'S SPEECH.

Mr. Webster was brought from Maine to Salem to act in the capacity of state prosecutor in the trial of Knapp, who was held as principal, the actual perpetrator being dead. The popular opinion was against Knapp, and Mr. Webster's presence as the prosecutor was almost enough to condemn him. The defendant's counsel hinted at this fact, and Mr. Webster in the exordium at once alludes to it, tells the jury that he hopes that his sense of justice will not allow him to be prejudiced and as for them, well, they are intelligent and upright men. (This is calculated to conciliate.)

Mr. Webster nexts points out to them their duty. They must be careful, their duty is great. If they do not condemn Knapp, then they cannot bring the others to trial, as accessory to the deed, of which Knapp, the principal, is acquitted. They must remember, too, that this acquittal will establish a dangerous precedent. The country will have a good many more men like this Knapp, and they will be acquitted. The acquittal of every cut-throat means that the life of one more citizen is endangered. So having pointed out to them their duty, he describes the deed as he supposed it occurred. Immediately after he proceeds to the case. He says that the counsel on the opposite side should have proceeded immediately to invalidate "the circumstantial stuff" as they call the evidence, instead of carping at the manner in which the "circumstantial stuff" was procured.

They neither alight nor do they fly, they hover between. They neither admit the evidence, nor do they deny it. Mr.

Webster takes up the circumstantial stuff and examines it thoroughly and in detail, finding a great many things to Knapp's disadvantage.

Mr. Webster states with great clearness what the jury are to determine. The state of the case is — was there a conspiracy? Was Knapp one of the conspirators? if so, then he killed this man either by his own hand, or by the hand of some one else, or helped three or four others. He shows clearly that there was a conspiracy. The key of the door leading into Mr. White's room was secreted. The occupants of the house save Mr. White were away. Everything pointed to connection between those outside and those inside the house. The deed was done with the greatest calmness and deliberation, there was no hurry, the assassin knew he had nothing to fear as far as interruption was concerned. So there was a plot. The man who did the deed has committed suicide, which amounts to confession of the deed. But this man had no reason for committing the deed, he was no relative of the deceased. It is apparent that a relative of the deceased must have planned the deed from mercenary motives, as the facts showed. From the evidence, everything considered, it was clear that Knapp aided and abetted the murderer. Knapp had everything to gain by the death of White.

SYLLOGISM.

A man who insidiously plots or abets another in attempts against the life of another man, should be condemned. But Knapp, as shown by all the evidence, insidiously plotted, and abetted another in attempts against the life of White. Therefore, he should be condemned.

Matter: — The trial of Knapp.

Proposition: — Knapp is guilty of murder.

SECOND FORM OF ANALYSIS. — MURDER OF MR. WHITE.

WEBSTER.

Matter: — The killing of Mr. White.

Question, unlimited: — Would a man kill another for gain?

Question, limited: — Has John F. Knapp killed Mr. White for gain?

State of the Question : — Who was the principal conspirator?
Purpose : — The conviction of John Francis Knapp.
Proposition : — (1) There was a conspiracy. (2) John Francis Knapp was the aider and abettor of the crime.

EXORDIUM.

Conciliation of the audience by reviewing the prejudice and refuting the charge that the orator has been brought from a distance for the express purpose of convicting the prisoner, whether he is guilty or not. Proof that this is not so. Citing of examples in which the same thing was done in former cases. The orator's only object is the punishment of the guilty. Appeal to the jury to be just in their decision.

NARRATION.

The gravity of the case. The motives that influence the crime, not anger, hatred or revenge, but avarice. Money against life. A new subject for an artist's brush. Vivid and realistic description of the deed. The murderer's escape. Murder will out. The conscience of man accuses him of his crime and forces him to confess or seek rest from his guilty conscience in suicide, which is confession.

CONFIRMATION.

John Francis Knapp had everything to gain by the death of Mr. White ; Crowninshield, nothing. His knowledge of the will. If this will were destroyed and Mr. White died intestate, one-half of the property would pass into the family of John F. Knapp. He knew where the will was and had a duplicate key to the chest. He determines to have Mr. White killed. Hires Crowninshield to do the deed for one thousand dollars. Here is the conspiracy. The deed accomplished. Failure to pay the stipulated sum. The letter which reached the wrong person, and the subsequent events, prove that John Francis Knapp was a conspirator, and besides was the aider and abettor of the crime, and show him to be also a principal in the committing of the deed. Although the case rests on circumstantial evi-

dence, yet this is so strong that it leaves no doubt as to the real aider and abettor.

PERORATION.

Appeal to conscience and duty.

THIRD FORM OF ANALYSIS.

Exordium — The orator wins the good will of his hearers by showing the importance of the case, and that he cannot withhold his professional assistance.

NARRATION.

A vivid picture of the murder of Captain White.

REFUTATION.

Webster refutes the objection about the employment of particular counsel, committee of vigilance, etc.

PROPOSITION.

John Francis Knapp is guilty of the murder because

(1) There was a conspiracy to murder Captain White and he was a party to the conspiracy.

(2) He was a *principal* in the murder.

CONFIRMATION OF FIRST PART.

The orator shows that there was a conspiracy as the circumstances prove it was a premeditated murder. Orator declares that John F. Knapp was a party to it.

(1) He was interested. Witnesses prove that he intended to steal White's will.

(2) His guilt proved clearly from what preceded and followed the murder.

CONFIRMATION OF SECOND PART.

John Francis Knapp was a principal in the actual murder for

(1) His part in the conspiracy is clearly shown.

(2) He aided the assassin, Richard Crowninshield, by his presence in a certain place.

(3) His attempts to prove an *alibi* are refuted.

(4) Several witnesses testify to his presence in the place.

(5) The evidence of an unimpeachable witness, Rev. Mr. Colman, proves the same.

PERORATION.

Summing up of arguments : An appeal to jurors to do their duty and an eloquent description of the power of conscience.

FOURTH METHOD OF ANALYSIS OF WEBSTER'S SPEECH IN THE TRIAL OF JOHN FRANCIS KNAPP.

The circumstances which led to Webster's speech in the trial of John Francis Knapp were as follows : —

A peaceful and inoffensive old man, Mr. White, had been brutally murdered in his bed at night. Four men were suspected of complicity in the deed, and were arrested. One, probably the actual murderer, committed suicide ; another, by name, John Francis Knapp, was accused as a principal in the murder. Mr. Webster was employed as attorney in the prosecution. In the first part of his speech he proves that the murder resulted from a conspiracy, to which the prisoner was a party. He next shows that the prisoner rendered actual aid to the murderers, or at least was on hand for the purpose of doing so ; this would make him a principal, according to the law as it then existed.

The subject of the speech is the murder of Mr. White.

The question, whether Knapp was a principal to the murder.

The state of the question, whether Knapp was in Brown Street for the purpose of aiding in the murder.

NARRATION.

(1) The murder of Mr. White ;

(2) Everything that proves the existence of a conspiracy ;

(3) The circumstantial evidence of Knapp being a principal in the murder.

ANALYSIS OF FIRST HALF OF THE SPEECH.

Exordium — The orator excuses himself for appearing as the prosecutor.

Refutation of certain prejudices. Proposition complex.

(1) There was a conspiracy to murder White, and the prisoner was one of the conspirators.

(2) He was a principal in the actual murder.

First part, conspiracy.

(1) It existed ; proved from its effects.

(2) Defendant was a party to it. Proof : —

(*a*) His supposed interest in it ;

(*b*) His intention of stealing White's will, proved by testimony.

(3) His actual connection with the conspiracy

(*a*) Proved by testimony of what preceded the murder ;

(*b*) Shown by signs after the murder.

ANALYSIS OF SECOND HALF OF THE SPEECH.

(1) The prisoner

(*a*) Could not prove an *alibi*.

(*b*) Was in Brown Street.

(2) His presence there was

(*a*) To aid

(*b*) Or to abet in regard to the actual deed.

PERORATION.

Appeal to conscience and duty.

CHAPTER II.

APPLICATION OF PRECEPTS.

In the first part of this work are found the precepts; and in the second, the examples, consequently this portion, the application of precepts to examples, must necessarily, in a measure, contain a repetition. But at the same time it will be very useful for the general reader to have placed before him a method of application.

This application will show, practically, how the precepts are verified in a particular exordium, as, for instance, in the speech of Demosthenes on the Crown. This application will be made for narration, as in the speech of Sheridan against Hastings; for the argumentation as exemplified in the "Defence of Stockdale," and for the peroration as in Bossuet's "Funeral Oration of the Prince of Condé."

Synopses of remarkable orations are presented to the student to aid in the study of the speech, or to form material for exercise or practice.

The student may take one of the synopses and endeavor to build up an oration and then compare it with the original. In the preceding chapter is given a study of the speech of Daniel Webster at the trial of Knapp.

One of the greatest masterpieces of persuasive oratory is Shakespeare's Speech of Mark Antony. This speech will be given with an analysis, then a summary, and finally the effect is indicated by one, as an actual witness at the time, in the Roman Forum.

In the precepts it was said that the exordium should

render the hearers attentive, well-disposed, and docile, and that it should have the qualities of propriety, modesty, care, and brevity.

We shall take as a practical example the exordium of Demosthenes on the Crown, and see how the great Athenian verifies these precepts, or rather, how these precepts are given, because the exordium of Demosthenes contains them in their most perfect form.

EXORDIUM OF SPEECH OF DEMOSTHENES "ON THE CROWN."

Let me begin, men of Athens, by imploring all the Heavenly powers that the same kindly sentiments which I have throughout my public life cherished towards this country and each of you, may now by you be shown towards me in the present contest!

Next, I beseech them to grant, what so nearly concerns yourselves, your religion, and your reputation, that you may not take counsel of my adversary touching the course to be pursued in hearing my defence — that would indeed be hard! — but that you may regard the laws and your oaths, which, among so many other just rules, lay down this — that both sides shall be equally heard! Nor does this merely import that no one shall be prejudged or that equal favor shall be extended to both parties; it also implies that each antagonist shall have free scope in pursuing whatever method and line of defence he may be pleased to prefer.

Upon the present occasion, Athenians, as in many things, so especially in two of great moment, Æschines has the advantage of me. One is that we have not the same interests at stake; it is by no means the same thing for me to forfeit your esteem, and for him to fail in his impeachment. That to me indeed — but I fain would not take so gloomy a view in the outset, — yet he certainly brings his charge, an unprovoked volunteer. My other disadvantage is, that all men are naturally prone to take pleasure in listening to invective and accusation, and to be disgusted with those who praise themselves.

CENTRAL RESERVE

To him, therefore, falls the part which ministers to your gratification, while to me there is only left that which, I may almost say, is distasteful to all. And yet, if from such apprehensions I were to avoid the subject of my own conduct, I should appear to be without defence against this charge, and without proof that my honors were well earned; although I cannot go over the ground of my councils and my measures without necessarily speaking often of myself. This, therefore, I shall endeavor to do with all moderation; while the blame of my dwelling on topics indispensable to my defence must justly rest on him who has instituted an impeachment of such a kind.

But at least I think I may reckon upon all of you, my judges, admitting that this question concerns me, as much as Ctesiphon, and justifies on my part an equal anxiety; for, to be stripped of any possession, and more especially by an enemy, is grievous and hard to bear; but worst of all, thus to lose your confidence and esteem, of all possessions, the most precious. Such, then, being my stake in this course, I conjure, and implore, of you all alike, to give ear to my defence against these charges, with that impartiality which the laws enjoin — those laws first given by Solon, one so friendly towards you, as he was to all popular rights — laws which he fixed, not only by engraving them on brazen tablets but by the sanction of the oaths you take when sitting in judgment; not, I verily believe, from any distrust of you, but because he perceived that the accuser being armed with the advantage of speaking first, the accused can have no chance of resisting his charges and invectives, unless every one of you, his judges, keeping the oath sworn before the gods, shall receive with favor the defence, which comes last, and lending an equal and a like ear to both parties, shall thus make up your mind upon the whole of the case.

But on this day, when I am about to render up an account, as it would seem, of my whole life, both public and private, I would again, as in the outset, implore the gods, and in your presence pour out to them my supplication, first to grant me at your hands the same kindness in this conflict which I have ever borne towards our country and all of you; and next, that

they may incline you all to pronounce upon this impeachment the decision which shall best consult the glory of the State and the religious obligations of each individual judge.

This exordium contains all the qualities of the exordium mentioned in *Part First.*

In the very beginning we see he rouses *attention* by appealing to their religious feeling — later, he makes them *well-disposed* towards himself by showing how much he esteems their good will, and *docile*, because he wishes them to do only what is consistent with their honor and their dignity.

The exordium has the virtue of *propriety*, or exclusiveness. It is taken from the very nature of the contest, refers at once to the particular line of argumentation of Æschines, the claim that he makes for the privilege of following his own order of defence.

It is *brief* compared with the length of the whole speech, consisting of about three pages, where the whole speech includes nearly one hundred similar pages.

It is certainly *modest* where he deprecates the fact that he shall be obliged to speak of himself; for this, he says, Æschines is to blame, and moreover he will do so with the greatest possible moderation.

The *care* is manifest in the choice of words. Each one is selected with great precision to produce the greatest possible effect with the least expenditure of time and of energy. And this is no less true of the exordium than of the whole speech.

NARRATION.

The narration is an historical exposition of facts, a statement of the case, or a story told. It should be clear, probable, and as brief as the nature of the subject will permit. The delivery of the narration should be distinct; precise, without formality; easy, natural, and familiar, without being low or commonplace. Few men are able to tell a story well, and some who can tell a

story very well, deliver a speech very badly: so marked is the difference between the conversational and the declamatory manner, A story must be told in the conversational manner, and told interestingly.

The learner before delivering a narration, must consider its nature, that is, whether it is a panegyric of a saint, or a portion of ecclesiastical history detailed in a sermon, or a sketch of profane history in a debate, or a statement of a case at the bar, or a simple story or anecdote. Let him study the thought and spirit of the narration, and place himself in the circumstances of the speaker. Cicero's narrations for Milo, and Sheridan's narrations in his speech against Warren Hastings. are suitable examples.

SHERIDAN'S NARRATION IN HIS SPEECH AGAINST HASTINGS.

Had a stranger, at this time, gone into the province of Oude, ignorant of what had happened since the death of Sujah Dowla, that man, who, with a savage heart, had still great lines of character and who, with all his ferocity in war, had still, with a cultivated hand, preserved to his country the riches which it derived from benignant skies and a prolific soil — if this stranger, ignorant of all that happened in the short interval, and observing the wide and general devastation and all the horrors of the scene; of plains unclothed and brown; of vegetation burned and extinguished; of villages depopulated and in ruins; of temples unroofed and perishing; of reservoirs broken down and dry; he would naturally inquire, what war has thus laid waste the fertile fields? what civil dissensions have happened thus to tear assunder and separate the happy societies that once possessed those villages? what disputed succession, what religious rage has, with unholy violence, demolished those temples, and disturbed fervent, unobtruding piety in the exercise of its duties? what merciless enemy has thus spread the horrors of fire and

sword? what severe visitation of Providence has dried up the fountain, and taken from the face of the earth every vestige of verdure? Or rather, what monsters have stalked over the country, taunting and poisoning, with pestiferous breath, what the voracious appetite could not devour? To such questions what must be the answer? No wars have ravaged these lands and depopulated these villages; no civil discords have been felt; no disputed succession; no religious rage; no merciless enemy; no affliction of Providence, which, while it scourged for the moment, cut off the sources of resuscitation; no voracious and poisoning monsters. No, all this has been accomplished by the friendship, generosity, and kindness of the English. They have embraced us with their protection, and lo, those are the fruits of their alliance. What then! Shall we be told that under such circumstances the exasperated feelings of a whole people, thus goaded and spurred on to clamour and resistance, were excited by the poor and feeble influence of the Begums? When we hear the descriptions of the paroxysm, fever, and delirium, into which despair had thrown the wretched natives — when on the banks of the polluted Ganges, panting for death, they tore more widely open the lips of their gaping wounds to accelerate their dissolution, and, while their blood was issuing, presented their ghostly eyes to Heaven, breathing their last and fervent prayers, that the dry earth might not be suffered to drink their blood, but that it might rise up to the throne of God, and rouse the Eternal Providence to avenge the wrongs of their country,— will it be said that this was brought about by the incantations of those Begums in their secluded Zenana, or that they could inspire this enthusiasm and this despair into the breasts of a people who felt no grievance and had suffered no torture? What motive then, could have such influence in their bosom? What motive?

That which nature, the common parent, plants in the bosom of man, and which, though it may be less active in the Indian than in the Englishman, is still congenial with, and makes part of his being, — that feeling which tells him that man was never made to be the property of man; but that when,

through pride and insolence of power, one human creature dares to tyrannize over another, it is a power usurped, and resistance is a duty; that feeling which tells him that all power is delegated for the good, not for the injury of the people, and that when it is converted from the original purpose the compact is broken, and the right is to be resumed; that principle which tells him that resistance to power usurped is not merely a duty which he owes to himself and to his neighbor, but a duty which he owes to his God in asserting and maintaining the rank which He gave him in the creation — to that common God who, where He gives the form of man, whatever may be the complexion, gives also the feelings and the rights of man — that principle which neither the rudeness of ignorance can stifle, nor the enervation of refinement extinguish — that principle which makes it base for a man to suffer when he ought to act, which, tending to preserve to the species the original designations of Providence, spurns at the arrogant distinctions of man, and vindicates the independent quality of his race.

ARGUMENTATION.

The argumentative part of a discourse includes the confirmation and the refutation. By confirmation the orator proves his own case; by refutation he destroys the proofs or objections of his adversary.

The argumentative part of a discourse is either dry reasoning, as in a law point, or by amplification it includes description, figures of speech, and occasional appeals to the passions. In dry reasoning, conviction is the great object, and then impressive distinctness, an emphatic, decisive manner, confident, without being dictatorial, and a bearing candid and firm, modest and grave, are required.

Descriptions, figures of speech, and appeals to the passions, demand an animation or an ardor, not impetuous, but chastened and restrained by a due sense of

decorum, according to situations and circumstances. A great variety of expression, from insinuating mildness to affecting pathos, or denunciation or defiance or intimidating boldness, may be admitted or required in the amplification of arguments or in refutations.

In refutation, the speaker should never appear anxious or embarrassed about difficulties, lest his appearance should excite doubt or distrust. He should appear to possess manly confidence. This characteristic trait of confidence was remarkable in Cicero, as Quintilian remarks, for everything he advanced was seconded by so great an air of security and authority, that it had the force of truth, and left no room to doubt his sincerity. It is told of a certain lawyer, that when some very decisive circumstance came out against him, another said: "You are undone," he answered with an unmoved countenance: "Hush! the chances of war!" and he succeeded.

DEFENCE OF STOCKDALE. ARGUMENTATION.

This is, without color or exaggeration, the true question you are to decide, because I assert, without the hazard of contradiction, that if Mr. Hastings himself could have stood justified or excused in your eyes for publishing this volume in his own defence, the author, if he wrote it bona fide to defend him, must stand equally excused and justified; and if the author be justified, the publisher cannot be criminal, unless you had evidence that it was published by him with a different spirit and intention from those in which it was written. The question therefore, is correctly what I have just stated it to be: could Mr. Hastings have been condemned to infamy for writing this book?

Gentlemen, I tremble with indignation, to be driven to put such a question in England. Shall it be endured that a subject of this country (instead of being arraigned and tried for some single act in her ordinary courts where the accusation, as soon

at least as it is made public, is followed by the decision within a few hours) may be impeached by the Commons for the transactions of twenty years, — that the accusation shall spread as wide as the region of letters, — that the accused shall stand, day after day, and year after year, as a spectacle before the public, which shall be kept in a perpetual state of inflammation against him; yet that he shall not, without the severest penalties, be permitted to submit anything to the judgment of mankind in his defence? If this be law (which it is for you to-day to decide) such a man has *no trial*; this great hall, built by our fathers for English justice, is no longer a court, but an altar; and an Englishman, instead of being judged in it by God and His Country, is a victim and a sacrifice.

PERORATION.

The peroration is the final appeal which the orator makes to the audience in winding up his discourse. The peroration consists of a recapitulation or summing up of arguments used, or of an appeal to the passions, or of both. In mere recapitulation, the delivery should be grave, energetic, and interesting. But it is in the peroration, which consists of an appeal to the passions, that the orator is, as Quintilian tells us, "to open up all the fountain of his eloquence, and to go in, full sail." "There is nothing," he adds, "so important in the whole art of oratory, as to excel in this kind of peroration." To bear away the judges, to mould them to the orator's wishes, to inflame an audience with anger, soften them with pity, to make them weep and gain dominion over their hearts and affections, is a rare gift of genius, and the greatest triumph of eloquence. In order to move others, the orator must be moved himself. "What other reason," says Quintilian "makes those afflicted exclaim, in so eloquent a manner, amidst the finest transports of their

grief? And how otherwise do the most ignorant speak eloquently in anger, unless, because they feel strongly, and show a true representation of manners in that state? Will he grieve who heard me speak with an unmeaning face, and an air of indifference? Will he be angry, when I, who am to excite him to anger, remain cool and sedate? Will he shed tears, if I plead with unconcern?"

The shortest rule then is for the learner to feel strongly, and to study well the chapter on the passions. But he must take care to control his feelings within the limits of propriety, and not to "tear a passion to rags," or go before his audience with any excessive display of feeling. He must impel the audience before him, and then follow up his victory.

He must have a due regard to what the audience will bear, and remember what Quintilian says, "That in an effort to force tears, there is no medium; the orator must make the audience weep, or expect to be laughed at."

PERORATION TO THE FUNERAL ORATION OF THE PRINCE OF CONDE. — BOSSUET.

Come now, you people, or come, rather, you princes and lords, and you who judge the Earth; and you who open to men the gates of Heaven; and you, more than all, princes and princesses, noble progeny of so many kings, — lights of France, but to-day obscured and covered with your grief as with a cloud, — come and see the little that remains to us of so august a birth, of so much greatness of so much glory. Cast your eyes around.

Behold all that magnificence and piety could do to honor a hero, titles, inscriptions, vain marks of that which is no more; figures which seem to weep around a tomb and frail images of a grief which time bears away along with all the rest; columns

which seem as if they would raise to Heaven the magnificent testimony of our nothingness; and naught, in fine, is wanted amid all these honors, but he to whom they are given. Weep, then, over these feeble remains of human life; weep over that sad immortality, which we give to heroes! But approach, in particular, O you who run with so much ardor in the career of glory; warlike and intrepid souls! Who was more worthy to command you? Yet in whom have you found authority more gentle? Weep, then, for this great captain, and say, with sighs, "Behold him who was our leader in dangers; under him have been formed so many renowned captains, whom his examples have raised to the first honors of war: his shade could still gain victories, and behold, now in his silence, his very name animates, and at the same time warns us, that to find at death, some rest from our labors, and not to arrive unprovided at our eternal dwelling, — with our earthly king, we must likewise serve the King of Heaven." Serve then, that King, immortal and so full of mercy, who will value a sigh and a glass of water given in His name, more than all others will ever do the effusion of your blood. And begin to date the time of your useful services from the day on which you shall have given yourself to so beneficent a master.

For myself, if it be allowed me, after all others, to come to render the last duties at this tomb, O Prince, worthy subject of our eulogy and of our sorrow, you shall live eternally in my memory and your image shall there be traced, not with that boldness that promised victory; no, I will see nothing in you of that which is effaced by death. You shall have in this image immortal lineaments; I shall there behold you such as you were at that last day under the hand of God, where his glory seemed already to appear to you. There I shall behold you more triumphant than at Fribourg or Rocroy; and, ravished by a triumph so splendid, I shall repeat, with thanksgiving, these beautiful words of the beloved disciple: "And this is the victory which overcometh the world, our faith." Enjoy, great prince, this victory; enjoy it eternally by the immortal virtue of this sacrifice. Accept these last efforts of a voice which was known to you. You shall put an end to all these discourses. In-

stead of deploring the death of others, O Prince, henceforward I will learn of you to sanctify my own.

Happy, if, warned by these white hairs of the account which I am to render of my ministry, I reserve for the flock which I am to nourish with the word of life, the remains of a faltering voice and of an ardour which will soon cease to have existence.

[For the four preceding extracts, cf. W. Barry, All Hallows College. In the same work, *Orators and Oratory*, may be found other excellent illustrations.]

In the words of Aristotle, we give in another form, the qualities of the three portions of the speech that follow the exordium.

NARRATION.

In demonstrative oratory narration is not continuous, but only where it may produce the best effect.

Some say the narration should be rapid. Of this idea Aristotle observes "when the baker was asked whether the bread should be kneaded hard or soft," what was the reply? "Is it then impossible to knead it properly?" And so in narration, it should not be too long, just as one should not make an exordium too long or state the proofs too fully.

Just enough should be narrated to make the matter clear; namely, that the event happened, or the person was injured, or received injustice of that precise importance, which the speaker wishes to establish."

ARGUMENTATION.

The proof, as Aristotle indicates, should be demonstrative. Every case may be reduced to four points, and the proof must be of the particular point at issue. Either it is a fact to be proved, or an injury, or a degree of importance, or the justice of the case.

The speaker may prove that a murder was committed, or a libel written, that conciliation of a mother country with the colonies is of paramount importance, that the taking of another's life was in self-defence.

The fact being admitted, the orator's proof consists mainly in amplification, both in *demonstrative oratory* and in the *Academic style*, showing how the deed done was honorable or useful. "The Bunker Hill monument is a reminder of the patriotism of the early days of the nation."

If the speech is before a *deliberative assembly*, then the orator shows what will not take place, or that if the event about which there is deliberation occurs, it is not just, or beneficial, or as helpful as it should be.

The fallacies of the adversary should be shown forth, for this will be a strong weapon with which to overthrow all his other statements.

The kind of a proof to use in deliberative oratory is the example, as this kind of oratory refers to future action, and lessons for the future may be learned from the history of the past.

The enthymeme is used in *judicial* oratory, but not frequently, and when several are used, they should be skillfully blended. In order to move the feelings the enthymeme should not be used, nor when one aims at the effect of influencing the character, but for this end maxims and principles should be appealed to both in the proof and in the narration.

Excellence in Judicial oratory is easier than in Deliberative, as the former is based on law.

In both Deliberative and Judicial oratory, the first speaker not only proves his own statement, but must anticipate and answer the objections of his adversary.

The last speaker, first answers the objections, and then gives his own proofs. The reason is obvious. As one does not favorably receive a person on whom a slur has been cast, so a speaker is not listened to favorably, if the opposite speaker seems to have spoken truly against him. Demosthenes follows this course.

He must establish his right to be heard, and his character for truthfulness, by showing that what was said against his question and himself, was false. This result will be gained by sweeping away the objections.

PERORATION.

The peroration is intended to accomplish four results: The hearer should be in favor of the orator and ill-disposed toward his adversary, there should be amplification in extenuation of the point at issue, a rousing of the feelings of the hearer and a recalling to mind of what has been said on the question.

Having shown, then, that you are right and your adversary wrong, you must give the finishing touch, you must show that your view is *good* for *them* or *in itself*, and show the opposite about the position of your adversary.

Then having amplified this, so far as to present it in a vivid manner, it remains to urge it home, by appealing to pity, terror, anger, hatred, envy, emulation and rivalry.

Finally, there remains only to awaken recollections of what has been proved by a brief summary.

The idea of the peroration is to show that the orator has conclusively done what he undertook to do in his speech.

Then he compares his own arguments with those of his adversary, and that either in irony or by interrogation.

"He said that, but this is what I proved."

"What have I not fully proved? Where is the single point that he has established?"

Or he may simply state in order, his own reasoning, as it was given, or that of his adversary. "And for the close," says Aristotle, "the style without connectives is suitable, in order that it may be a peroration, and not an oration.

"I have spoken; you have heard; the case is in your hands, pronounce your decision."

CHAPTER III.

HOW TO FORM A SPEECH.

I have a speech to write:

I take for my subject the memorable defence of Milo, by Cicero.

How shall I set about the writing of this speech? First, I try to fix the matter definitely in my mind. Then, about this subject, I get all the information or knowledge possible. For instance, there was a man killed by another. His name was Clodius. Some said the killing was premeditated; others that it was simply the result of defending one's own life when attacked. It was a deed done in self-defence. I find out all the different details. The object I have in view is to obtain the acquittal of the accused man, Milo.

The *matter*, therefore, is the *killing of Clodius.*

I make a statement or *proposition*, "Milo killed Clodius justly." I then set about finding a reason for the truth of this proposition. The first one that suggests itself is, that it was *just, because* it was in *self-defence.* This reason "*because it was in self-defence*," is my whole proof. This I may show in various lights, and I may reason thus: —

According to the natural law, a man who kills another in the very act of self-defence, is not guilty of injustice.

This man, Milo, was in the act of self-defence when he slew Clodius; therefore the slaying of Clodius was just.

He should consequently be acquitted.

The first statement I prove by the natural law, example of history, the laws, etc.

The second statement I prove to be true by pointing out that in the encounter which took place, every act of Clodius that preceded, was that of an invidious assassin, while Milo was simply performing the duties of a citizen and of an officer of state. Milo was a public benefactor, a good man. The presumption, therefore, is against Clodius from his previous record. This is the light in which the argument is presented by Cicero.

The conclusion is, with the greatest probability, that the man attacked was Milo, and while defending himself, Clodius was killed. This was the point to be demonstrated.

The *peroration* may be an appeal to show honor to an illustrious man, concern for the state, etc.

SYNOPSIS OF CICERO'S "DEFENCE OF MILO."

The Subject: Between Titus Annius Milo and Publius Clodius there existed the bitterest enmity, principally because Cicero had been restored to citizenship through the instrumentality of Milo. When, therefore, Milo and Clodius were candidates for office in the same year — Milo for the consulship and Clodius for the prætorship — the followers of both of the leaders engaged in a succession of riots, and each candidate did his utmost to prevent the election of his opponent.

Finally, one day when both, with their retinue of slaves, were on a journey, they met each other on the Appian Way. Immediately an encounter ensued, during which Clodius was wounded and carried by his slaves to a neighboring inn. Milo, believing he would have more to answer for if Clodius were alive than if he were dead, ordered him to be cast out of the tavern and killed.

After much disorder had been occasioned by the party of the dead Clodius, and many conflicting decrees had been passed by the Senate, a trial was at length begun before Cneius Pompey, who had been made consul and had taken the usual oath to protect the interests of the republic. When Pompey took the presiding judge's chair, he surrounded himself with a picked body of soldiers, and had guards stationed at every entrance of the Forum.

Observation: Some thought that the defence of Milo should be conducted on the ground that he was justified in killing Clodius, whose death, because of his crimes, would benefit the republic. But this method of defence did not satisfy Cicero, therefore, when the prosecution asserted that Milo had plotted against Clodius, he took the contrary of their argument, maintaining that Milo had not plotted against Clodius, but Clodius against Milo.

His proof of this statement occupies the first and major portion of his argumentation. The first-mentioned justification of his act is put to good use in the second part of the argumentation.

THE EXORDIUM.

The exordium is drawn from the adjuncts of the place of trial.

(1) He makes excuses for his own timidity, which was caused by the unusual appearance of the court, since they were not surrounded by a body of citizens, but by troops of soldiers.

(2) He encourages the judges, both on account of the guard having been stationed there against the followers of Clodius, and because the rest of the citizens favored Milo.

(3) He exhorts the judges to be courageous because it is their duty to guard a good man against ruined citizens, and he moves them to pity, by his recital of the fortune which had befallen himself and Milo.

(4) He declares his mode of defence will be, not that the liberation of Milo should be demanded because the death of Clodius meant the safety of the republic, but because Milo defended his life against the attacks of Clodius.

REFUTATION.

To show that a decision must rest on the question, "Which laid snares for the other?" he refutes three arguments brought up by his adversaries.

I. The followers of Clodius deny that any defence should be granted to one who confesses that he has killed a man. Cicero answers this (disregarding the story of Horatius, who was liberated by the people in popular assembly, although he confessed to the murder of his sister) saying: —

(1) That a man may at times be justly killed, even by private authority. He proves this on the testimony,

(*a*) Of judges;

(*b*) Of eminent men who put wicked citizens to death;

(*c*) Of the twelve tables, which permit the slaying of a robber by night, or if he is armed, by day.

(2) That this is especially allowable, since violence that is offered must be opposed by violence. This is proved

(*a*) By the case of the soldier who was freed by Caius Marius;

(*b*) By common sense;

(*c*) By the law against assassins.

II. Milo's adversaries declare that he had already been condemned by the Senate, which had decreed that the slaughter on the Appian Way was contrary to the interests of the republic.

Cicero answers

(1) The Senate rather approved the case of Milo, both by its opinions and acts, so much so that the tribune of the people used to lament that the Senate did not decree what it thought proper, but whatever Cicero wished.

(2) The slaughter on the Appian Way was judged contrary to the interests of the republic not only by the Senate but by Cicero himself, because all violence however necessary must be considered opposed to the interests of the citizens and the republic.

III. The third argument was that Pompey had passed the new law, which established an unusual method of conducting the trial for the sake of Clodius.

REFUTATION.

(1) Pompey desired that judgment be passed on the murder of Clodius, which Milo confessed. Therefore, he saw that, though Milo admitted the deed, he yet might be acquitted on a question of right.

(2) He determined on a new manner of investigation on account of the times, not for Clodius' sake. For he could not establish it on account of Clodius, unless his extraordinary dignity demanded it, or because he had been slain among his ancestors' monuments. But,

(*a*) For no citizen of the highest rank, (for example, Drusus, Africanus, Pompey, Cicero) had a new investigation been ordered, then much less should Clodius have one. (Observe his manifest irony.)

(*b*) The crimes committed by Clodius among the monuments of his ancestors, were not considered for that reason more atrocious, therefore neither should his death.

He declares that since Pompey chose the best men available as judges, it followed that it was impossible to leave out the friends of Cicero, as his adversaries said.

NARRATION.

Cicero tells how and when Clodius laid snares for Milo, and he describes the preparation of each and finally the fight itself.

THE FIRST PART OF THE CONFIRMATION.

Here Cicero proves that Clodius was justly killed by Milo, since Milo did not plot against Clodius, but Clodius against Milo. But before he proceeds to the case, he again makes known his attitude.

He draws his arguments

I. From cause : —

(1) The death of Milo would be of service to Clodius, not that of Clodius to Milo. For with Milo, not only alive but also consul, Clodius would not be able to do in his consulship what he desired. Here the orator makes mention of the laws which Clodius intended to pass, inciting greater

hatred against Clodius, and in a digression he attacks Sextus Clodius, the secretary of Publius and the executor of his funeral obsequies.

On the other hand Milo was wanted as consul by the people if Clodius lived, because he would restrain his madness. With Clodius dead, Milo would have to seek honor on his own merits.

(2) Milo should by no means hate Clodius, who was the source of his glory, but Clodius hated Milo above all things, since he had restrained him, and since he could moreover call him to account at any moment under the Plotian law.

II. From the adjuncts of persons. Clodius was accustomed to obtain everything by violence. Milo got nothing that way.

The first part is proved by a brief enumeration of the crimes which Clodius either committed or attempted.

The second part is proved by a comparison with the first. Milo had many good occasions of killing Clodius ; but he was unwilling to do this by violence at an opportune moment, therefore, much less should we believe he would do it when the contest for the highest honors and the day of the assembly was at hand.

In conclusion, again exaggerating the audacity of Clodius in a few words, Cicero adds that Clodius had predicted the death of Milo.

III. From adjuncts of the journey, of time and of place : —

(1) Milo's journey was necessary, namely to appoint a priest at Lanuvium, and was known to many, especially to Titus Patina, a familiar friend of Clodius.

On the other hand the journey of Clodius was inconvenient to him, since, on that day a turbulent mob was gathered together by the tribune of the people, his hireling. The return of Clodius could not be known to Milo, because the slaves of Milo testified, that Clodius had not intended to return on that day, but had suddenly changed his plans. The objection to this is that Clodius could not have thought of plots. Cicero answers this : the reason why he changed his plans was not the one which his servants gave, but because he had received news of the journey of Milo.

(2) There was no reason for Clodius to arrange his journey so as to reach Rome by night. On the other hand Milo, if he had plotted against Clodius, would have awaited Clodius near the city and at night.

(3) Moreover, since this spot was near the city and full of robbers, and it was here that Clodius treated many with violence and deprived them of their goods, therefore, Milo would have been attacked by his enemy either in this place or between Aricia or Albanum. The arguments which have hitherto been offered, can be referred to the adjuncts before the deed; but before the orator proceeds to the deed itself he sums up everything which had been proven in a concise manner.

IV. From the adjuncts of the murder itself: —

(1) The place of the contest suited Clodius but not Milo.

(2) The preparations of Milo and his body-guard were by no means fitted for battles and snares; with Clodius it was otherwise. Here Cicero anticipates the objection "Why, then, was Clodius conquered?" showing that this could happen for many reasons.

V. From events which followed the murder. He begins by a refutation of the first objection, Milo had freed his slaves. Cicero answers: —

(1) He did not free them so that they would not be forced to testify against Milo. For the use of the rack is to discover the fact, not the question of right or wrong. But Milo confessed the killing, the fact.

(2) They were freed, because, as Cato wisely said in the assembly, they were worthy not only of liberty, but of every reward, since they had defended the life of their master.

Objection 2: The investigations in the hall of Liberty are going against Milo. The answer: The slaves of the prosecutor, Appius, are being examined. But it is unlawful for a slave to testify against his master. How much more unlawful is it for the slaves of the prosecutor to be called as witnesses. The strength of this argument is increased (*a*) from the person of Appius, who instituted the investigation himself (*b*) from the violence offered the slaves, and here observe a brief but well-

rendered refutation of their testimony. Cicero now changes from refutation to the argument: Milo bravely set out for Rome without delay, and entrusted himself to the people, the Senate, the public army, and to Pompey himself (now the rise to the climax); and unless he were innocent, he would never have done this because of the power of conscience. Cicero strengthens this conclusion (*a*) by the authority of the Senate, which judged Milo innocent for the same reason (*b*) from the contrary: all who thought that Clodius was murdered by Milo not in self-defence, but deliberately, said that Milo for his own or the republic's sake should go into exile. (*c*) Many other crimes were afterward heaped upon Milo, which could but terrify an innocent man. But all these accusations were brought forward for one purpose, and as the rest of the charges against Milo were found to be false, so the allegation that he laid snares for Clodius is untenable.

Finally, Cicero has a word about the suspicions of Pompey:

(1) It is wholly improbable that the republic should be armed and entrusted to Pompey through fear of one man. Therefore, all this power was not displayed against Milo, but for the preservation of the republic.

(2) Milo was known to be on terms of intimate friendship with Pompey, since he had done him favors previously and was now preparing for Pompey's sake to go into exile.

Cicero, however, reminds Pompey of the uncertainty of human affairs.

(3) Since the republic had been entrusted to Pompey, he could punish Milo of his own accord, and, if he wished to punish him, need not have given him a trial.

SECOND PART OF THE CONFIRMATION.

(Milo killed Clodius gloriously.)

In this part it is shown that Milo should be liberated even though he did not kill Clodius in self-defence.

Argument I. Because Clodius was a dangerous and infamous citizen.

Argumentation: Citizens who injured the republic, were put

to death by brave men, and they not only escaped punishment but gained glory thereby.

(1) This is proved by the examples of Spurius Manlius and Tiberius Gracchus. But Clodius brought more trouble on the republic than these men, as is shown by a long enumeration of the crimes committed by him.

(2) Clodius prepared every kind of evil for the citizens; therefore, etc. Note the way in which he exhibits Milo as rejoicing that an enemy of the republic was put to death by him.

Argument II. Because the death of Clodius brought universal joy to the republic.

Argumentation: The people felt as happy over the death of Clodius as if it were some signal victory, and now began to hope for some good fortune, which they would never have seen if Clodius were alive. He shows that this is so by a "prolepsis": Cicero was not alone in thinking this, for neither the judges nor Pompey desired that Clodius should come to life again. (Observe the ingenuity of his fiction.) But to him who brought about the general peace and happiness, rewards, not punishment should be given. This argument is strengthened by the example of the Greeks, who gave to men of this kind the honors of the gods.

Therefore, Milo if he did kill Clodius deliberately, was worthy of the highest honors, and on that account confessed the deed, so that if the republic were pleased, he would rejoice, if the republic were dissatisfied, he was justified by his own conscience.

Argument III. Because the death of Clodius was brought about not by the plans of men, but by the will of the gods.

Argumentation: First of all, the orator proves that the Divine will is evident in the world from the manifest order of the universe, and then, by comparison, he proves that if there is feeling and instinct in the human body, the more so must there be in the world. Then he shows that Clodius was drawn on to punishment by the gods.

(1) From the adjuncts of the place. Because he was killed before the groves at Albanum, as it were, in the sight of Jupiter Latiaris, and before the sanctuary of the *Bona Dea*,

where his former crimes were committed. (An illustrating apostrophe.)

(2) From the consequences. Since the wrath of the gods by means of his own followers, deprived him of burial rites.

The conclusion of the second part follows, in which the arguments drawn from the person of Clodius are amplified by repetition. This wicked man was preparing the destruction of the whole republic (amplification by accumulation). No one but Milo would resist him; therefore, the gods incited him to attack Milo, so that the republic would not go to ruin. He strengthens and amplifies this conclusion by reference to the burning of the Senate house.

PERORATION.

Here he moves the judges to pity, drawing his arguments.

(1) From the person of Milo as being a man, (*a*) brave: If Milo in the trial did not seem to be moved, he was more deserving on that account of compassion, for this could be attributed to his bravery, through which he was willing to leave his country if it would profit thereby; (*b*) well-deserving. On this account, evils had befallen when he had a right to expect reward; (*c*) sensible: he did everything, and especially this deed, for no other reward than glory, and this he attained in a great degree.

(2) From the person of Cicero (*a*) whose dearest friend, the judges, not his enemies, but his friends take away (*b*) who did for Milo what he could, and was prepared to suffer the worst for him.

(3) After he had commended Milo, who was not moved by his tears to the soldiers, he comes back finally to those things which he had said about Milo and himself, pouring forth his soul in grief.

CHAPTER IV.

ANALYSIS OF MARK ANTONY'S SPEECH.

Of all the gems of oratory ever written in any tongue or in any clime, the speech of Mark Antony over Cæsar's dead body, appears to offer the most striking examples and illustrations of the various rules and precepts employed in the art of Rhetoric. From the first word in the Exordium to the last in the Peroration this speech is a perfect masterpiece, exhibiting the beauty, grandeur, power and sublimity of oratory when wielded by an orator thoroughly acquainted with the rules of Rhetoric, thoroughly versed in the character and dispositions of men, and fully competent to use this mighty power for the attainment of his wishes.

The exordium of the speech, which is contained in the first twelve lines, immediately shows us the power of the orator. Brutus has just finished his speech and the people are in no humor to hear insults or abuse hurled against him, their idol and their friend. The orator must use great tact in speaking before such an audience. Is Antony equal to the occasion? Yes, notice. See how simply, and yet how gracefully, he insinuates himself into the good graces of his hearers; how subtly he strikes the keynote of the whole speech without ruffling the minds or exciting the anger of the people against him. How artfully does he conciliate them and how modestly does he appear, as he declares that it is owing to Brutus's favor that he has been permitted to address them.

This is a perfect exordium, fulfilling as it does the functions of an exordium and attaining the purpose for which it was written namely, the gaining of good will of the people addressed.

But the great genius, tact, talent and mighty intellect of the orator is shown in the refutation of the charge that Cæsar was ambitious, and in completely bending the wills of the motley rabble to do as he desires by exciting the passions of anger, fear, pity, love, indignation and hatred.

Antony does not bluntly say that the charge was falsely brought against Cæsar, and that when Brutus said he murdered Cæsar because he was ambitious, he lied. No, no, this would not do, for Brutus was "an honorable man." And yet observe how cunningly he does refute the charge. By citing a few examples and by using the Argument *ad hominem*, the orator stamps the charge as false, without exciting the anger of the people or making any injurious allusions to Brutus or the other conspirators. Then when he has made an appeal to their honor and excited their pity, observe how shrewdly he pauses for a while, and gives his words time to work their effect.

When a sufficient time had elapsed for his words to take root and influence the minds of the people, Antony again addressed them. He perceives that he will no longer have to tread cautiously and weigh every word, for the people, fickle as the wind, have now turned away from Brutus and are prepared to follow him. Yet their passions are not sufficiently aroused. He must inflame them with rage and hatred against the murderers of Cæsar, and observe how beautifully this is done. By reverting to Cæsar's former fame and glory the orator touches their hearts, and moves them to pity by contemplating Cæsar's present state. "O Masters," how skilfully he uses this word, how admirably adapted it is to arouse the pride of the people. But observe what follows.

What could be more powerful at this period than to arouse the indignation of the mob and excite their curiosity by mentioning Cæsar's will. What consummate art! He arouses the curiosity of the people by intimating that in this will they are remembered, but still declines to satisfy their curiosity. And how fitting is the appeal that immediately follows.

Again he alludes to their self-interest by telling them that they are the heirs of Cæsar, and arouses their anger against the conspirators by exciting their gratitude towards the friend who loved them so dearly and who was so foully murdered.

Again and again he allows the rabble to clamor for the reading of the will before he satisfies their curiosity, and then when they are gathered round the corpse of Cæsar, behold how bounteously he adds fuel to their rage and indignation.

How sublime, how beautiful, how eloquent are the words which he now utters! Holding up the blood-stained mantle of Cæsar and commenting upon it, see how admirably he employs the argument *ad invidiam* and arouses popular indignation against the conspirators by alluding to the Nervii whom Cæsar had overcome to the great honor and glory of Rome. How vividly is the murder again enacted before the people by the use of apostrophe, as the orator shows where each of the conspirators thrust his cruel dagger. How artfully he alludes to Cæsar's love for Brutus, and how basely Brutus requited this love. How strongly he appeals to their self-interest and patriotism by declaring that by the fall of Cæsar they all fell, and the glory of their country was forever extinguished.

The people are now thoroughly excited, their brains are on fire, but the orator is not yet satisfied. One more masterly stroke and all is won. Suddenly the orator uncovers the face of the murdered Cæsar, exhibits it to the gaze of the maddened crowd and for the first time calls the murderers, traitors.

Behold the effect. The people's rage now knows no bounds, and they are rushing forward to wreak their vengeance upon the conspirators when Antony arrests their progress by reminding them of the will.

Then comes the reading of the will, a fitting crown to grace the work of the orator and to obtain for him what he so earnestly desired, the destruction of Brutus and his fellow conspirators. Wisely indeed did the orator refrain from reading it sooner. Now it will work the most harm and form a fitting conclusion to his speech. As he reads the clauses of the will, the people recognize how dearly Cæsar loved them, and when their self-interest and sense of gratitude is aroused, they burn with rage and indignation and fiercely vowing vengeance upon the murderers of Cæsar, their benefactor and friend, they depart to commence their course of rapine and devastation.

The orator has attained his end and right well may he say in conclusion

> "Now let it work! Mischief thou art afoot,
> Take thou what course thou wilt."

SPEECH OF MARK ANTONY. — SHAKESPEARE.

Ant. Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears:
I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him.
The evil that men do, lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones:
So let it be with Cæsar. The noble Brutus
Hath told you, Cæsar was ambitious:
If it were so, it was a grievous fault,
And grievously hath Cæsar answer'd it.
Here, under leave of Brutus and the rest,
— For Brutus is an honorable man,
So are they all, all honorable men;
Come I to speak in Cæsar's funeral.
He was my friend, faithful and just to me:
But Brutus says, he was ambitious:
And Brutus is an honorable man.
He hath brought many captives home to Rome,
Whose ransoms did the general coffers fill:
Did this in Cæsar seem ambitious?
When that the poor have cried, Caesar hath wept;
Ambition should be made of sterner stuff:
Yet Brutus says, he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honorable man.
You all did see, that on the Lupercal
I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
Which he did thrice refuse. Was this ambition?
Yet Brutus says, he was ambitious;
And, sure, he is an honorable man.
I speak not to disprove what Brutus spoke,
But here I am to speak what I do know.
You all did love him once, not without cause:
What cause withholds you, then, to mourn for him?
O judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason. — Bear with me;
My heart is in the coffin there with Cæsar,
And I must pause till it come back to me.
But yesterday, the word of Cæsar might

Have stood against the world ; now, lies he there,
And none so poor to do him reverence.
O masters ! if I were dispos'd to stir
Your hearts and minds to mutiny and rage,
I should do Brutus wrong, and Cassius wrong,
Who, you all know, are honorable men,
I will not do them wrong : I rather choose
To wrong the dead, to wrong myself, and you,
Than I will wrong such honorable men.
But here's a parchment with the seal of Cæsar ;
I found it in his closet, 'tis his will :
Let but the commons hear this testament,
Which, pardon me, I do not mean to read,
And they would go and kiss dead Cæsar's wounds,
And dip their napkins in his sacred blood ;
Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
And, dying, mention it within their wills,
Bequeathing it as a rich legacy,
Unto their issue.

Have patience, gentle friends ; I must not read it ;
You are not wood, you are not stones, but men,
And being men, hearing the will of Cæsar,
It will inflame you, it will make you mad.
'Tis good you know not that you are his heirs :
For if you should, O ! what would come of it ?

Will you be patient ? Will you stay a while ?
I have o'er shot myself to tell you of it.
I fear, I wrong the honorable men,
Whose daggers have stabb'd Cæsar : I do fear it.

You will compel me, then, to read the will ?
Then, make a ring about the corpse of Cæsar,
And let me show you him that made the will :
Shall I descend ? and will you give me leave ?

Nay, press not so upon me ; stand far off.

If you have tears, prepare to shed them now;
You all do know this mantle : I remember
The first time that Cæsar put it on ;
'Twas on a summer's evening, in his tent,
That day he overcame the Nervii.
Look ! in this place, ran Cassius' dagger through.
See, what a rent the envious Casca made :
Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabb'd ;
And as he pluck'd his cursed steel away,
Mark how the blood of Cæsar follow'd it,
As rushing out of doors, to be resolv'd
If Brutus so unkindly knock'd, or no ;
For Brutus, as you know, was Cæsar's angel :
Judge, O you gods, how dearly Cæsar lov'd him :
This was the most unkindest cut of all ;
For when the noble Cæsar saw him stab,
Ingratitude, more strong than traitors' arms,
Quite vanquished him : then burst his mighty heart ;
And in his mantle muffling up his face,
Even at the base of Pompey's statue,
Which all the while ran blood, great Cæsar fell.
O what a fall was there, my countrymen !
Then I, and you, and all of us fell down,
Whilst bloody treason flourish'd over us.
O ! now you weep ; and, I perceive, you feel
The dint of pity : these are gracious drops.
Kind souls ! what ! weep you, when you but behold
Our Cæsar's vesture wounded ? Look you here,
Here is himself, marr'd, as you see, with traitors.

Stay, countrymen.

Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up
To such a sudden flood of mutiny.
They that have done this deed are honorable :
What private griefs they have, alas ! I know not,
That made them do it ; they are wise and honorable
And will no doubt, with reasons answer you.

I come not, friends, to steal away your hearts:
I am no orator, as Brutus is,
But, as you know me all, a plain, blunt man,
That love my friend; and that they know full well
That gave me public leave to speak of him.
For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
Action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech,
To stir men's blood: I only speak right on;
I tell you that, which you yourself do know,
Show you sweet Cæsar's wounds, poor, poor dumb mouths,
And bid them speak for me: but were I Brutus,
And Brutus Antony, there were an Antony
Would ruffle up your spirits, and put a tongue
In every wound of Cæsar, that should move
The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny.

Yet hear me, countrymen, yet hear me speak.

Why, friends, you go to do you know not what.
Wherein hath Cæsar thus deserv'd your loves?
Alas! you know not: — I must tell you, then.
You have forgot the will I told you of.

Here is the will, and under Cæsar's seal.
To every Roman citizen he gives,
To every several man, seventy-five drachmas.

Hear me with patience.

Moreover, he hath left you all his walks,
His private arbours, and new-planted orchards,
On this side Tiber: he hath left them you,
And to your heirs for ever; common pleasures,
To walk abroad, and recreate yourself.
Here was a Cæsar: when comes such another?

Now let it work! Mischief, thou art afoot,
Take thou what course thou wilt.

ANALYSIS OF MARK ANTONY'S SPEECH. — EXORDIUM.

"Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears —

. . . . . .

Come I to speak at Cæsar's funeral."

The audience, having just heard the speech of Brutus, are but little, or ill, disposed to listen to Antony. It is his task, therefore, to conciliate them, and this he does in two ways: first by leading them into the belief that he is going to omit speaking of Cæsar's deeds; and secondly, by naming Brutus as an honorable man, which term is used here not in sarcasm as afterwards. The exordium is simple in kind and combines the four qualities, Propriety, Attention, Modesty and Brevity.

ARGUMENTATION.

"He was my friend faithful and just to me, —

. . . . . .

Here was a Cæsar, when comes such another."

CONFIRMATION.

"He was my friend faithful and just to me, —

. . . . . .

But here I am to speak what I do know."

In the confirmation the arguments are produced to prove an absence of ambition in Cæsar: all three are drawn from circumstances. The confirmation is direct.

The orator deals more especially with the passions and emotions of his hearers and so far succeeds that he moulds them easily to suit his purposes. The emotions appealed to are gratitude, patriotism, pity and indignation.

From "But yesterday the word of Cæsar might" to "The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny," is one long appeal to the feelings.

All the appeals made to the passions are indirect, exceedingly so. For example, the passage "But were I Brutus, etc.," is a perfect type of this and well calculated to mislead the minds of the Roman plebians.

The concluding lines beginning "Here is the will and under Cæsar's seal" is an argument drawn from circumstances to prove the love that Cæsar bore his subjects.

PERORATION.

Properly speaking the speech is now at an end, since the audience has departed: in this case there would be no peroration, no final address to the feelings. The last two lines however, namely: —

"Now let it work! Mischief, thou art afoot,
Take thou what course thou wilt."

would supply the place of a peroration if the audience were present, hence even in their absence they may still retain that character.

It is abrupt, extremely so, and without either enumeration or amplification. It is, however, entirely in keeping with the character of the speech.

Question — Was Cæsar killed justly?

Purpose — To rouse Romans to anger against Brutus and his party.

State of case — Was Cæsar ambitious?

Proposition — Cæsar was wrongfully killed.

Arrangement — Analytic. *Method* — Natural.

Syllogism — If Cæsar was not ambitious, he should not have been killed. But, Cæsar was not ambitious. Therefore, he should not have been killed.

MARK ANTONY'S ORATION.

(The work of Antony's Speech described by a listener.)

Thou knowest well, O Marcus, friend of our line, that all our hearts are bleeding for the dead. But yesternight while journeying with Octavius, a messenger from Antony bade me hasten to the Capitol, and taking horse, at noon I reached the city's gate, and when I passed the sentinel he bade me stay my steps, and asked if I had heard of Cæsar's murder. Like a barbed shaft the news sank into my quivering heart, and plunging spur, frantically I rode straight for the house of Cæsar. The

city was in a turmoil; the citizens scurried like hunted foxes now here, now there, or they watched like burrowed hares from their barred dwellings. But as I neared the market place, behold, I saw a great crowd had gathered, and in the chair stood Brutus, Cæsar's quondam friend, the most accursed of that cursed pack, whose treacherous steel drank Cæsar's blood. To the earth I sprang, and tied the steed within a neighboring porch, and with rage-trembling hands and bursting heart I hurried toward the chair. Some sullen rascals, boldened by the turmoil, sought to bar my way, but when they saw my hand seek the hilt, their craven hearts were withered in their breasts, and they gave place and soon I stood within the shadow of a column to hear what Brutus had to say.

And ere I stood a moment's span I heard one of Rome's noblest born beg of that riotous horde to know "If he had any one offended," and the cowering curs plucked up audacity and hoarsely shouted, "No!" What more he said I know not, for at that moment Antony entered with Cæsar's body. And Brutus, likewise seeing them, a shade of pallor crossed his gloomy face, and rallying, he made some braggart boast, that the same dagger that had taken Cæsar's life, he kept to take his own life if so Rome willed it.

And the traitorous horde shouted approval and currying his favor sought to bear him on their shoulders thence, but some faint spark perchance that still glowed in the blackened ashes of his honor, bade him command the populace to listen to Marc Antony. Then loud they clamored for Antony, who with a mock humility, mounted the chair, and for a space, gazed around until the murmur should die out. His eyes met mine and in them I saw naught but tearful sadness, then turning, in a sweet and gentle voice, he thus began: —

"Friends, Romans, Countrymen, lend me your ears, I come to bury Cæsar not to praise him." And then with cunning words, he cast a doubt on Brutus' charge that Cæsar was ambitious. And his honeyed speech flowed into their open ears, and like the beasts that lay at Orpheus' feet; so this wild throng lay 'tranced beneath his sway.

With touching words he told how Cæsar was his friend and

dearly did he love him, and then he told of Cæsar's captives and of how the glittering spoils poured into Rome; and in that crowd I saw many a veteran's eye gleam bright with recollections and saw the muscles knot on brawny arms. With every rounded sentence the traitor's cause lost favor with the people, with every breath the charge of Brutus tottered to its fall, and when he spoke of Cæsar's charity many a rugged hand was drawn over swimming eyes, and women sobbed aloud.

And then o'ercome by poignant grief he bowed his head towards Cæsar's corpse and wept, and only the compassionate murmur of that subdued throng and the weeping of sympathetic hearts was heard. Then men began to mutter to each other, and vow that Antony was right, — Cæsar was not ambitious — Brutus had lied — Antony spoke true — such were the words on every lip, and Antony kept silence till the seed should take firm hold, then lifting up his hand, whereat the murmur ceased, once more he spoke. "But yesterday" he said "the word of Cæsar might have stood against the world, now lies he there and none so poor to do him reverence."

A hoarse murmur of dissent swelled up, but Antony proceeding, soon it died away. Then Antony with crafty skill urged them to anger by forbidding it, and with fine irony he vowed he would no harm should come to Brutus, or to Cassius, whom they all knew were honorable men. Again that murmur rose louder, deeper than before, then sank and died away. Then from his breast he drew dead Cæsar's will and told them that if they but knew its contents they "would kiss dead Cæsar's wounds and dip their napkins in his sacred blood, yea, beg a hair of him in memory, and, dying, mention it within their wills as a rich legacy unto their issue." Then avarice gleamed bright in every eye, and hungry, half-starved vagabonds shouted aloud, "The will! The will! Read us the will O Antony! But he bided his time and skillfully with half-concealed allusions baited their curiosity, telling them that 'twere a dangerous thing forsooth, as they were only men, to know that they were heirs to generous Cæsar. Whereat great clamors rose, a thousand voices bellowing that they would hear the

will. But with a gesture Antony stilled all that storm, and seeing then their temper was fired to the kindling, here with deepest irony he sadly said, he feared he had done wrong to mention Cæsar's will, for it might harm the honorable men whose daggers laid him low. Then such a shout went up, the very temples shuddered to their bases and far away the traitorous band heard that fierce yell and trembled at its due significance. "Traitors! Murderers! Villains!" cried ten thousand tongues. "The will! The will! Marc Antony!" Then Antony acceeded to their wish, but asked that ere the will was read that he might show to them the bloody corpse, and bade them form a ring about dead Cæsar. A moment's swaying, then they gathered with bowed heads, in reverend guise, around Marc Antony, who close beside the mangled body of his best loved friend, with moistened eyes then speaks to them. First, lifted he great Cæsar's bloody mantle, and speaking gently, told them he remembered when Cæsar first put it on, at evening in his tent, the day he overcame the Nervii. Then, while that breathless awestruck throng, with craned neck and startled eyes looked on, he pointed out where each foul blade had rent the cloth which reddened with the blood that flowed from Cæsar, then, with a master's skill, upon their dull imaginations did he throw a startling picture of the fall of Cæsar; then overcome, he stretched his arms to heaven, calling the gods to witness to the truth, then groaned that Rome had come to such a stage.

So, Marcus, ends this day, and such another, Rome shall never see, though she shall live a thousand years beyond. — *J. McDonnell.*

CHAPTER V.

SYNOPSIS OF THE SPEECH OF ÆSCHINES AGAINST CTESIPHON.

I. Introduction. There are factions in the State: these lead to illegal proceedings: they must be stopped.

II. The proceedings of Ctesiphon as to Demosthenes were illegal: —

(1) Because the law forbids a magistrate to be crowned before his accounts have been accepted.

(2) The fact that Demosthenes had spent his money in the public service did not free him from the law.

(3) Demosthenes had two offices at the time Ctesiphon proposed to crown him.

(4) Ctesiphon proposed the coronation in an illegal place.

III. Demosthenes did not deserve this honor: —

(1) For his private character.

(2) For his public character.

(*a*) Demosthenes acted against his country in making peace with Philip in the first period of his career and in showing a servile spirit.

(*b*) After Philip passed Thermopylæ, Demosthenes suddenly changed policy, blamed his fellow-ambassadors for the peace, proposed war against Philip, made disadvantageous alliances and was guilty of the grossest corruption.

(*c*) He then brought disgrace on himself and ruin on his country by upholding the Amphicians in their sacrilege and by the alliance with Thebes.

(*d*) After the battle of Cheronea, Demosthenes fled from Athens; and on his return took no part in public affairs until the death of Philip, when he suddenly took courage, procured the decrees honoring Philip's murderer, ridiculed Alexander at a distance but quailed when he was near and finally sold himself to him.

(*e*) Demosthenes was not a true friend to true liberty.

IV. There was a necessity of greatest strictness in conferring public honors and in confining speakers to their subject.

V. He compares himself with Demosthenes.

VI. Reiterated the illegality of the decree and the unworthiness of Demosthenes.

VII. He warned the judges to be on their guard against the eloquence of Demosthenes or the influence of personal friendship.

Syllogism of the Speech of Æschines Against Ctesiphon.

Major Premise. — A crown should not be presented to a man, who is not a benefactor of the State, who has not handed in his accounts, and to whom a crown has not been voted legally.

Minor Premise. — Demosthenes is not a public benefactor, he has not handed in his accounts, neither was the crown voted him legally.

Conclusion. — A crown should not be presented to Demosthenes.

SYNOPSIS OF SPEECH OF DEMOSTHENES "ON THE CROWN."

I. Introduction.

(1) Appeal to the gods.

(2) Claim of right to his own order of thoughts.

(3) He had the greatest stake in the trial.

II. Refutation of charges foreign to indictment.

(1) He would not refute the charges against his private life but he would leave the judges to decide from their knowledge of him.

(2) As for the charges against his public life, they were clearly dictated by malice, and were, therefore, false, as was evident from the peace with Philip. This peace had been proposed, not by him, but by Æschines, who with his friends had been bribed by Philip, after which Philip gained other traitors like Æschines everywhere.

III. Refutation of charges in the indictment.

(1) Review of his public life and measures.

(*a*) Philip took advantage of corrupt and divided state of Greece to gain dominion over her.

(*b*) Athens honorably could only resist.

(*c*) Philip violated the peace by taking certain cities, allies of Athens.

(*d*) By taking ships.

(*e*) Philip in a letter to the Athenians acquitted him of blame.

(*f*) His first opposition to Philip was to resist unjust encroachments.

(*g*) The help sent to Byzantium and the Perinthians was of the same nature.

(*h*) There was no objection to the policy of resistance, because these states had been hostile.

(*j*) In addition to this, he reformed the navy.

(2) The place for the crown to be given was in accordance with law.

IV. Strictures on character and policy of Æschines as compared with his own.

(1) Character and course of Æschines.

(*a*) Low origin: his early life spent in low pursuits.

(*b*) Late appearance in public life.

(*c*) Countless proofs of his treason with regard to Philip.

(*d*) He acted for Philip after his plans were known, especially in the Amphictiones' war.

(*e*) Æschines helped Philip, the guilty cause of all the evils of Athens.

(2) (*a*) The Theban alliance, his own policy: Æschines did not object when he should.

(*b*) Athens honorably could have followed no other course.

(*c*) Remarks on Theban alliance and following events.

(*d*) All this time Demosthenes had been faithful to the people.

(3) More comparisons.

(4) His answer to the warning of Æschines about his oratory.

(5) Final reasons why he should be crowned:
(*a*) Because he had never taken bribes;
(*b*) Because of his policy;
(*c*) Because of his patriotism.

SYLLOGISM OF THE SPEECH OF DEMOSTHENES "ON THE CROWN."

Major premises. — The accusations, which one man slanderously and maliciously makes against another, are unworthy of credence.

Minor Premises. — Æschines has accused me slanderously and maliciously.

Conclusion. — The accusations of Æschines are unworthy of credence. Æschines has vilified my life as a private citizen and a public officer.

But this is slanderous and malicious,

Therefore, Æschines has accused me slanderously and maliciously.

ENTHYMEME.

Æschines is false and slanderous in his accusations against my private life, as you well know. Therefore, he is unworthy of belief in his accusations against my public administration, and my worthiness to be crowned as a benefactor of the State.

CHAPTER VI.

BUNKER HILL ORATION.

SYLLOGISM.

All true patriots who have sacrificed their lives that their country might be free, prosperous, and a benefit and an illustrious example to all mankind, deserve to be honored by their countrymen.

But the early heroes of the American Revolution have sacrificed their lives that, etc.,

Therefore, the early heroes of the American Revolution deserve to be honored by their countrymen.

ARGUMENTATION.

The Argumentation is divided into two parts. The early heroes of the American Revolution should be honored.

1. Because of benefits gained by America by their conduct; and

2. Because mankind in general has been benefited.

Part 1.—I. Why a monument should be erected in their honor. The record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. But by the erection of a monument we (*a*) show our deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and (*b*) by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye we keep alive similar sentiments, and foster a constant regard for the principles of the Revolution.

II. How America has improved since the Revolution in (*a*) government; (*b*) population; (*c*) commerce; and (*d*) industry and knowledge.

III. Eulogy on the survivors. Contrast between the time of the war and now. Praise and honor the memory of the brave patriot Warren, and his comrades that have perished.

IV. Bravery and patriotic zeal manifested by the colonies. (*a*) Conduct of Boston and Massachusetts. (*b*) Other colonies. (*c*) Conduct of the early heroes when war was declared. (*d*) Effect of the battle of Bunker Hill.

V. Eulogy on Lafayette. Link between Old and New world.

VI. The great changes that have taken place since the battle of Bunker Hill. (*a*) We must also consider other nations besides our own. (*b*) Community of opinion among men of different nations. (*c*) The spread of knowledge and the result. (*d*). Improved condition of mankind.

VII. Question of politics and government. (*a*) Influence of America. (*b*) America's success. (*c*) Failure in other countries. (*d*) Government affected by the increase of knowledge. (*e*) Struggle of the Greeks and South Americans for liberty.

Part 2.—I. The benefit which the example of our country has produced on human freedom and happiness. (*a*) America placed at the head of the system of representative and popular government. (*b*) Her example shows that such governments are compatible not only with power but also with peace, good laws and a just administration.

II. Responsibility incumbent on Americans. (*a*) Their history proves that popular form of government is practical and that with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves. (*b*) If in their case, the representative system utterly fails, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. (*c*) The last hopes of mankind are centered in them.

III. America's victory over tyranny has inspired many other nations to throw off the yoke of oppression, and fight for their birthright, liberty.

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ORATION.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

Exordium.

This uncounted multitude before me and around me proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and from the impulses of a common gratitude turned reverently to heaven in this spacious temple

of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling have made a deep impression on our hearts.

If, indeed, there be anything in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground, distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here, not to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor to draw into notice an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June, 1775, would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light, and the eminence where we stand a point of attraction to the eyes of successive generations. But we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great continent; and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to enjoy and suffer the allotments of humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast; and it is natural, therefore, that we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence which God allows to men on earth.

Circumstances.

We do not read even of the discovery of this continent, without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes and our own existence. It would be still more unnatural for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at

Columbus and His Memory Thrill Us.

last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

'Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England. We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without its interests. We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth, while the sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient Colony forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it. No vigor of youth, no maturity of mankind, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

The Place of the Battle.

But the great event in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate, that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together, in this place, by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion.

We Celebrate the Birth of Freedom.

The Society whose organ I am, was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American Independence. They have thought, that for this object no time could be more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful period; that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot; and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The founda-

The Association of Bunker Hill Monument Lays the Foundation.

tion of that monument we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted, and that, springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain as long as Heaven permits the works of men to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised, and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know, that if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known to all future times. We know that no inscription on entablatures, less broad than the earth itself, can carry information of the events we commemorate where it has not already gone; and that no structure, which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice, to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and, by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a constant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed, not of reason only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it forever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced, by the same events, on the general

A Monument of Our Hearts.

interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot which must forever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here, and be proud, in the midst of its toil. We wish that, in those days of disaster, which, as they come upon all nations, must be expected to come upon us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power are still strong. We wish that this column, rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object to the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden his who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise! let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

It Marks Our First Battle. Its Lesson for All, Old and Young.

We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important that they might crowd and distinguish centuries are, in our times, compressed within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record in the same term of years, as since the 17th of June, 1775? Our own Revolution, which, under other circumstances, might itself have been expected to occasion a war of half a century, has been achieved; twenty-four sovereign and independent States erected; and a general government established over them, so safe, so wise, so free, so practical, that we might well wonder its establishment should have been accomplished so soon, were it not far the greater wonder that it should have been established at all.

The Growth of Our Nation.

Two or three millions of people have been augmented to twelve, the great forests of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry, and the dwellers on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi become the fellow-citizens and neighbors of those who cultivate the hills of New England. We have a commerce, that leaves no sea unexplored; navies, which take no law from superior force; revenues, adequate to all the exigencies of government, almost without taxation; and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights and mutual respect.

Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by a mighty revolution, which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost every man, has shaken to the centre her political fabric, and dashed against one another thrones which had stood tranquil for ages. On this, our continent, our own example has been followed, and colonies have sprung up to be nations. Unaccustomed sounds of liberty and free government have reached us from beyond the track of the sun; and at this moment the dominion of European power in this continent, from the place where we stand to the south pole, is annihilated forever.

In Europe Revolution Has Destroyed Dynasties; Here it Has Shaken off European Power.

In the mean time, both in Europe and America, such has been the general progress of knowledge, such the improvement in legislation, in commerce, in the arts, in letters, and, above all, in liberal ideas and the general spirit of the age, that the whole world seems changed.

Progress is Made.

Yet, notwithstanding that this is but a faint abstract of the things which have happened since the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, we are but fifty years removed from it; and we now stand here to enjoy all the blessings of our own condition, and to look abroad on the brightened prospects of the world, while we still have among us some of those who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now here, from every quarter of New England, to visit once more, and under circumstances so affecting, I had almost said so overwhelming, this renowned theatre of their courage and patriotism.

We Rejoice in the Blessings of Fifty Years.

Venerable men! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago, this very hour, with your brothers and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered! The same heavens are indeed over your heads; the same ocean rolls at your feet; but all else, how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charlestown. The ground strewed with the dead and the dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death; — all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis, its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population, come out to welcome and greet you with a universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships, by a felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defence. All is peace; and God has granted you the sight of your country's happiness, ere you slumber in the grave. He has allowed you to behold and to partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you!

Apostrophe to the Patriots, Who, Through War Have Brought Peace.

But, alas! you are not all here! Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Read, Pomeroy, Bridge! our eyes seek for you in vain amid this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance and your

own bright example. But let us not too much grieve that you have met the common fate of men. You lived at least long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like

A Tribute to the Honored Dead.

> "another morn,
> Risen on mid-noon";

and the sky on which you closed your eyes was cloudless.

But, ah! Him, the first great martyr in this great cause! Him, the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart! Him, the head of our civil councils, and the destined leader of our military bands, whom nothing brought hither but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit! Him, cut off by Providence in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom; falling ere he saw the star of his country rise; pouring out his generous blood like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage! — how shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name! Our poor work may perish; but thine shall endure! This monument may moulder away; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea; but thy memory shall not fail! Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit!

The Memory of Warren will Outlast the Granite Rock.

But the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits who hazarded or lost their lives on this consecrated spot. We have the happiness to rejoice here in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary army.

Address to Living Survivors.

Veterans! you are the remnant of many a well-fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth, from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. Veterans of half a century! when in your youthful days you

put everything at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to an hour like this! At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive, at a moment of national prosperity such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met here to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of a universal gratitude.

The Veterans Dreamt Not of Such a Day.

But your agitated countenances and your heaving breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feeling rushes upon you. The images of the dead, as well as the persons of the living, present themselves before you. The scene overwhelms you and I turn from it. May the Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years, and bless them! And when you shall here have exchanged your embraces, when you shall once more have pressed the hands which have been so often extended to give succor in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of victory, then look abroad upon this lovely land which your young valor defended, and mark the happiness with which it is filled; yea, look abroad upon the whole earth, and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude which beam upon your last days from the improved condition of mankind!

Joy and Sorrow Are in Their Hearts.

The occasion does not require of me any particular account of the battle of the 17th of June, 1775, nor any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it. These are familiarly known to all. In the progress of the great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become early and marked objects of the displeasure of the British Parliament. This had been manifested in the act for altering the government of the Province, and in that for shutting up the port of Boston. Nothing sheds more honor on our early history, and nothing better shows how little the feelings and sentiments of the Colonies were known or regarded in Eng-

The Injustice to Boston Resented by All the Colonies.

land, than the impression which these measures everywhere produced in America. It had been anticipated, that, while the Colonies in general would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on Massachusetts, the other seaports would be governed by a mere spirit of gain; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners deceived themselves! How little they knew of the depth, and the strength, and the intenseness of that feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power, which possessed the whole American people! Everywhere the unworthy boon was rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was seized everywhere, to show to the whole world that the Colonies were swayed by no local interest, no partial interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston was strongest to our neighbors of Salem. Yet Salem was precisely the place where this miserable proffer was spurned, in a tone of the most lofty self-respect and the most indignant patriotism. "We are deeply affected," said its inhabitants, "with the sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province greatly excite our commiseration. By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbors." These noble sentiments were not confined to our immediate vicinity. In that day of general affection and brotherhood, the blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart from one end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt and proclaimed the cause to be their own. The Continental Congress, then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathies for the suffering inhabitants of Boston, and addresses were received from all quarters, assuring them that the cause was a common one, and should be met by common efforts and

common sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts responded to these assurances; and in an address to the Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature, perhaps among the last, of the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering and the magnitude of the dangers which threatened it, it was declared, that this Colony "is ready, at all times, to spend and to be spent in the cause of America."

But the hour drew nigh which was to put professions to the proof, and to determine whether the authors of these mutual pledges were ready to seal them in blood. The tidings of Lexington and Concord had no sooner spread, than it was universally felt that the time was at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined,

The Spirit Led to Action.

"totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet."

War, on their own soil and at their own doors, was, indeed, a strange work to the yeomanry of New England; but their consciences were convinced of its necessity, their country called them to it, and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The ordinary occupations of life were abandoned; the plough was stayed in the unfinished furrow; wives gave up their husbands, and mothers gave up their sons, to the battles of a civil war. Death might come, in honor, on the field; it might come in disgrace, on the scaffold. For either and for both they were prepared. The sentiment of Quincy was full in their hearts. "Blandishments," said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, "will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a halter intimidate; for, under God, we are determined that, wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit, we shall die free men."

Every Sacrifice Was Made to Repel Injustice.

The 17th of June saw the four New England Colonies standing here, side by side, to triumph or to fall together; and there was with them from that moment to the end of the war, what I hope will remain with them forever: one cause, one country, one heart.

The Union of the Colonies.

The battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most important effects beyond its immediate results as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal lay to the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out, till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the Colonies, their appeals, resolutions, and addresses, had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we may say, that in no age or country has the public cause been maintained with more force of argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion which excited feeling and elevated principle can alone bestow, than the Revolutionary state papers exhibit. These papers will forever deserve to be studied, not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the ability with which they were written.

Bunker Hill Gave Voice to the Action of War.

To this able vindication of their cause, the Colonies had now added a practical and severe proof of their own true devotion to it, and given evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw, that if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard, as well as surprise, when they beheld these infant states, remote, unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and, in the first considerable battle, leave more of their enemies dead on the field, in proportion to the number of combatants, than had been recently known to fall in the wars of Europe.

The Colonies Showed her Men Were Soldiers.

Information of these events, circulating throughout the world, at length reached the ears of one who now hears me. He has not forgotten the emotion which the fame of Bunker Hill, and the name of Warren, excited in his youthful breast.

Sir, we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy of the living. But, Sir, your interesting relation to this country,

Eulogy.

the peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of devotion will you not thank God for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain, that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through you from the New World to the Old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, Sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended, to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor; and within which the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McCleary, Moore, and other early patriots fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you and yours forever!

Link Between Old World and New, Between Then and Now.

Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this structure. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them this day to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, to Sullivan, and to Lincoln. We have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little

remnant of that immortal band. *Serus in cœlum redeas.* Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, oh, very far distant, be the day, when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

The leading reflection to which this occasion seems to invite us, respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the present age, that, in looking at these changes, and in estimating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our own country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structures and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

Changes in America and Other Nations.

A chief distinction of the present day is a community of opinions and knowledge amongst men in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. Knowledge has, in our time, triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, over difference of languages, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a common field for intellect to act in. Energy of mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the *world* will hear it. A great cord of sentiment and feeling runs through two continents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from country to country; every wave rolls it; all give it forth, and all in turn receive it. There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences which make up the mind and opinion of the age. Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered;

Diffusion of Knowledge.

and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half-century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors or fellow-workers on the theatre of intellectual operation.

From these causes important improvements have taken place in the personal condition of individuals. Generally speaking, mankind are not only better fed and better clothed, but they are able also to enjoy more leisure; they possess more refinement and more self-respect. A superior tone of education, manners, and habits prevails. This remark, most true in its application to our own country, is also partly true when applied elsewhere. It is proved by the vastly augmented consumption of those articles of manufacture and of commerce which contribute to the comforts and the decencies of life; an augmentation which has far outrun the progress of population. And while the unexampled and almost incredible use of machinery would seem to supply the place of labor, labor still finds its occupation and its reward; so wisely has Providence adjusted men's wants and desires to their condition and their capacity.

Superior Results.

Any adequate survey, however, of the progress made during the last half-century in the polite and the mechanic arts, in machinery and manufactures, in commerce and agriculture, in letters and in science, would require volumes. I must abstain wholly from these subjects, and turn for a moment to the contemplation of what has been done on the great question of politics and government. This is the master topic of the age; and during the whole fifty years it has intensely occupied the thoughts of men. The nature of civil government, its ends and uses have been canvassed and investigated; ancient opinions attacked and defended; new ideas recommended and resisted, by whatever power the mind of man could bring to the controversy. From the closet and the public halls the debate has been transferred to the field; and the world has been shaken by wars of unexampled magnitude, and the greatest variety of fortune. A day of peace has at length succeeded; and now that the strife has subsided, and

Politics Have Brought a Change for Human Happiness.

the smoke cleared away, we may begin to see what has actually been done, permanently changing the state and condition of human society. And, without dwelling on particular circumstances, it is most apparent, that, from the before-mentioned causes of augmented knowledge and improved individual condition, a real, substantial, and important change has taken place, and is taking place, highly favorable, on the whole, to human liberty and human happiness.

The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful celerity; till at length, like the chariot-wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.

Difference Between Revolution Here and in Europe.

We learn from the result of this experiment, how fortunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our people was calculated for setting the great example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great degree of self-control. Although the paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had always been open to our colonial assemblies. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government; they understood the doctrine of the division of power among different branches, and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious; and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it; the axe was not

Self Government in Accordance with Common Sense and Christian Religion

among the instruments of its accomplishment; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well-founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

It need not surprise us, that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement, it is the master-work of the world, to establish governments entirely popular on lasting foundations; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all into governments to which it has been altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, in a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired is likely to be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won; yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power; all its ends become means; all its attainments, helps to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has limited, and nothing can limit the amount of ultimate product.

The Contest Improved Europe.

Under the influence of this rapidly increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in forms of government, to think and to reason on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations, and a participation in its exercise. A call for the representative system, wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it: where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it.

Men Demand Representative Government.

When Louis XIV said: "I am the state," he expressed

the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the state; they are its subjects; it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust, and that they cannot be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun of the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian champion, when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions,

Power is for the People.

> "Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,
> Give me TO SEE, — and Ajax asks no more."

We may hope that the glowing influence of enlightened sentiment will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars to maintain family alliances, to uphold or to cast down dynasties, and to regulate successions to thrones, which have occupied so much room in the history of modern times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general and involve many nations, as the great principle shall be more and more established, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute, that every nation possesses the power of establishing a government for itself. But public opinion has attained also an influence over governments which do not admit the popular principle into their organization. A necessary respect for the judgment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks has been suffered to go on so long, without a direct interference, either to wrest that country from its present masters, or to execute the system of pacification by

Peace is Soon to be More Desirable than War.

force, and, with united strength, lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greek at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age when something has influence besides the bayonet, and when the sternest authority does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach. Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be comfortably breathed by any one who would hazard it.

A Monument to the Unquenchable Thirst for Liberty.

It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that, while, in the fulness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we look for instruction in our undertaking to a country which is now in a fearful contest, not for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured that she is not forgotten in the world; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope for her final triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or other, in some place or other, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

The Free States of South America, a New Light and a New Life.

Among the great events of the half century, we must reckon, certainly, the revolution of South America; and we are not likely to overrate the importance of that revolution, either to the people of the country itself or to the rest of the world. The late Spanish colonies, now independent states, under circumstances less favorable, doubtless, than attended our own revolution, have yet successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence; they are known and acknowledged in the world; and although in regard to their systems of government, their sentiments on religious toleration, and their provisions for public instruction, they may have yet much to learn, it must be

admitted that they have risen to the condition of settled and established states more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. They already furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between free governments and despotic misrule. Their commerce, at this moment, creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able, by an exchange of commodities, to bear a useful part in the intercourse of nations.

A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail; all the great interests of society receive a salutary impulse; and the progress of information not only testifies to an improved condition, but itself constitutes the highest and most essential improvement.

Knowledge Brings Improvement.

When the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the existence of South America was scarcely felt in the civilized world. The thirteen little Colonies of North America habitually called themselves the "Continent." Borne down by colonial subjugation, monopoly, and bigotry, these vast regions of the South were hardly visible above the horizon. But in our day there has been, as it were, a new creation. The southern hemisphere emerges from the sea. Its lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into the light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch out, in beauty, to the eye of civilized man, and at the mighty bidding of the voice of political liberty the waters of darkness retire.

In Three Years the South American States Emerged from Darkness Into Light.

And now, let us indulge in an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which the example of our country has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. Let us endeavor to comprehend in all its magnitude, and to feel in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system of representative and popular governments. Thus far our example shows that such governments are compatible, not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal rights, with good laws, and a just administration.

Our Example Must do Good.

We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems are

preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing condition, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves however, that the popular form is practicable, and that with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves; and the duty incumbent on us is, to preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing may weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the representative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed, that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth.

Our Free Homes are the Hope of All.

These are excitements to duty; but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition, all that has gone before us, and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, in form perhaps not always for the better, may yet, in their general character, be as durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed, that in our country any other is impossible. The *principle* of free governments adheres to the American soil. It is bedded in it, immovable as its mountains.

Free Government Only Possible.

And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation, and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those who established our liberty and our government are daily dropping from among us. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us, as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon, and Alfred and other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defence and preservation; and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly

What our Fathers have Won we Must Preserve.

invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age be the age of improvement. In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four states are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of Wisdom, of Peace, and of Liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration forever!

Our Country Should be a Monument of Wisdom, Peace and Liberty for the Whole World.

TOPICS.

THE BUNKER HILL ORATION.

As a study for practice, one may take the Bunker Hill Oration, and going over each successive paragraph, see that it contains one or other of the topics.

From "this uncounted multitude" to "shedding of their blood. Topic of circumstances. Enumeration.

We are here, not to fix — generations. Definition by contrary.

But we are Americans. We live — on earth. Definition. Cause and effect.

We do not even read — our own existence. Cause and effect.

It would be still — world. Comparison. Similitude. Contrary.

Nearer to our own times — knowledge. Enumeration. Effect.

To us, their children — to flow by it. Contrary.

No vigor of youth — defended. Similitude. Contrary.

But the great event — and patriotic devotion. Definition. Enumeration.

The society whose organ I am — which was here fought. Definition. Contrary. Enumeration.

The foundation — begun the work. Circumstances.

We trust it will — reared it. Enumeration. Effect.

We know, indeed — remembrance of mankind. Definition.

We know, that if we could — can prolong the memorial. Comparison. Consequence. Contrary.

But our object is — of the Revolution. Definition.

Human beings are composed — heart. Let it not — purer, nobler. Definition. Contrary.

We consecrate our work — glory of his country. Definition. Enumeration. Effect.

Let it rise — and play on its summit. Similitude.

We live — compass of a single life. Contrary.

Our own revolution — established at all. Enumeration. Comparison. Effect.

Two or three millions — mutual respect. Enumeration. Comparison.

Europe within the same period — forages. Comparison. Similitude.

On this, our continent — forever. Consequent.

In the mean time—changed. Enumeration. Cause and effect.

Venerable men! you have come down — no more. Enumeration. Circumstances.

All is peace. The heights of — to thank you. Contrary. Enumeration. Circumstances. Effect.

But alas! you are not — example. Similitude. Enumeration. Contrary.

But, ah, Him! the first — thy name. Enumeration. Similitude.

This monument may moulder — thy spirit. Comparison. Contrary.

Veterans you are a remnant — gratitude. Similitude. Enumeration. Contrary. Consequent.

But your agitated countenances — improved condition of mankind. Circumstances of persons. Enumeration. Cause and effect.

In the progress — Massachusetts and Boston. British Parliament. Testimony.

This had been — port of Boston. Definition.

Nothing sheds more honor — greedily enjoyed. Definition. Antecedent and consequent.

How miserably — scorn. Contrary. Effect.

The temptation to profit — patriotism. Cause and effect.

We are deeply affected — neighbors. Testimony.

These noble sentiments — cause of America. Enumeration. Effect. Testimony.

But the hour drew nigh — determined. Antecedent and consequent.

War, on their own soil — prepared. Definition. Enumeration. Effect.

"Blandishments will not — free men." Testimony.

The 17th of June saw — one heart. Definition.

The battle of Bunker Hill — be accomplished. Effect.

The previous proceedings — written. Enumeration. Testimony. Effect.

To this able vindication — of Europe. Antecedent and consequent. Comparison.

Sir, we are assembled — commemoration. Definition.

You are connected — electric spark of liberty to the old. Similitude.

You will account it — forever. Enumeration. Circumstances.

Sir, you have assisted — band. Definition. Enumeration.

Illustrious as are your merits — its eulogy. Comparison.

The leading reflections — also. Definition. Comparison.

Like vessels on a common tide — beneath it. Similitude.

A chief distinction — be war. Definition.

The whole world — will hear it. Enumeration. Effect.

A great cord of sentiment — vibrates over both. Similitude.

Every breeze — opinion of the age. Enumeration.

Mind is the great — operation. Definition. Effect.

From these causes — population. Effect. Enumeration. Comparison.

And while the unexampled — capacity. Consequent.

An adequate survey — government. Enumeration. Contrary.

This is the — fortune. Definition. Enumeration. Effects.

A day of peace — happiness. Antecedent and consequent.

The great wheel — safe. Similitude.

Transferred to the other — terror around. Comparison. Similitude. Effect.

We learn from the result — government.

The possession of power — Christian religion. Definition. Enumeration. Contraries. Effect.

It need not surprise us — stranger. Contrary. Definition.

It cannot be doubted — ideas. Effect.

And although kingdoms — loses. Enumeration. Definition.

Its whole abundant harvest — product. Similitude.

Under the influence — state. Cause and effect.

Regarding government — exercise. Definition.

When men may — pray for it. Comparison.

When Louis XIV. — power. Testimony. Definition.

By the rules — community. Definition. Consequent. Comparison.

As knowledge is more — general. Effect.

Knowledge — sun — its beams. Definition. Similitude.

The prayer — institutions. Comparison.

We may hope — peace of the world. Antecedent and consequent.

Wars to maintain — itself. Enumeration. Comparison. Definition.

It is owing perhaps — evils. Example.

Let us thank God — hazard it. Antecedent and consequent.

It is indeed — existence. Circumstances. Enumeration.

If the true spark — to heaven. Similitude. Effect.

The late Spanish colonies — anticipated. Example. Enumeration. Definition.

They have already — nations. Effect.

A new spirit of enterprise — improvement. Enumeration. Testimony.

When the battle of Bunker Hill — darkness retires. Comparison. Enumeration. Similitude.

And now let us — human affairs. Antecedent and consequent.

We are placed — administration. Definition. Enumeration.

We are not — world. Definition. Testimony. Consequent.

If in our case — impossible. Cause and effect.

Our history and our condition — as other systems. Testimony. Enumeration.

The principle of free — mountains. Definition. Comparison.

But there remains — our country. Definition. Enumeration.

And by the blessing — forever. Similitude. Contrary.

BURKE'S SPEECH ON "CONCILIATION WITH AMERICA."

Syllogism.

A nation that taxes another unjustly ought to conciliate.

But England has taxed America unjustly.

Therefore, England ought to conciliate.

The proposition of the speech is divided into two parts: —

(1) We ought to make concessions.

(2) What our concessions should be.

FIRST PART.

The condition of the Colonies: —

(1) Their population;

(2) Their commerce;

(3) Their agriculture;

(4) Their fisheries.

People having such advantages cannot be held in subjection to mother country, if they are inspired with a spirit of liberty. But they have such a spirit, and it can be traced

(1) From the descent of the people;

(2) Their forms of government;

(3) The religious principles of the North;

(4) The social institutions of the South;

(5) The peculiarities of their education;

(6) Their remoteness from Great Britain.

Summary: —

(1) We cannot remove these causes;

(2) We cannot regard them as criminal.

(3) We cannot do anything outside of concession, it is the true policy.

Now what must we concede?

SECOND PART.

Taxation is the main point at issue, therefore, it is with regard to taxation, that concessions must be made. In former times every territory was represented. Ireland, Durham, Chester and Wales all had either independent parliaments or were represented in the English Parliament. Direct representation of the American Colonies is impracticable. Lord North's scheme pernicious; the evils that would result from its adoption. Englishmen have the privilege of contributing whatever they grant to the Crown through their own legislature; Americans should have that same privilege, this is the only way out of the difficulty.

Then he proposes six resolutions with a brief consideration of which he closes the speech.

CHAPTER VII.

OMNIPOTENCE IN BONDS.

(Preached in the University Church, Dublin.)

J. H. NEWMAN.

Evang. Sec. Luc., c. ii, v. 51.

Et descendit cum eis, et venit Nazareth: et erat subditus illis.

And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth; and was subject to them.

At this Christmas season, when we are celebrating those joyful mysteries which ushered in the Gospel, it seems almost an officious intrusion upon our holiday to engage in any exercise of the reason, even though it be in order to enliven the devotional feelings proper to the holy tide. It is a time of religious rest and spiritual festivity, and even on the ground that discussion is a kind of labor, we seem to have a right to be protected against it. And yet, as the days go on, and thankfulness has had free current and joy has had its fill, it seems allowable too, to look back at length on what has been occupying the heart, and to reason upon it. Nay, we seem to have the highest of possible authorities for doing so; for after two of the joyful mysteries, the third and the fifth, the holy Virgin is said to have done this very thing. Upon the Nativity of Our Lord and Saviour, the very feast we have been celebrating, the Evangelist tells us, "Mary kept all these words, *pondering* them in her heart"; and after she had found Him in the Temple in the midst of the Doctors, which is the subject of this day's Gospel, "His mother," we are told, "kept all these things in her heart." Surely, then, it is permitted to me, consistently with the love and adoration due to this happy time of Christmas, to direct your minds, my brethren, to a consideration which it suggests, not, indeed, very recondite, on the contrary obvious to all of us, lying on the very face of the great

Mystery, but calculated I think, both to strengthen the faith, and to deepen the love with which we receive it into our hearts.

"The Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us;" this is the glorious, unsearchable, incomprehensible Truth, on which our hopes for the future depend, and which we have now been commemorating. It is the wonderful economy of Redemption, by which God became man, the Highest became the lowest, the Creator took His place among His own creatures, Power became weakness, and Wisdom looked to men like folly. He that was rich was made poor; the Lord of all was rejected; "He came unto His own, and His own received Him not." This, I say, is the grand mystery of the season, and this is the subject on which I now propose to make one remark.

I say, then, my brethren, consider what the Divine Being is, and what we mean when we use His name. The very first idea of Him, if we make the creed our guide, is Omnipotence: "I believe in God, the Father Almighty." And if you wish to enter into this idea of Omnipotence, and investigate what it is, trace it back into the further mystery of a past eternity. For ages innumerable, for infinite periods, long and long before any creature existed, He was. When there was no creature to exercise His power upon, still He was Omnipotent in His very Essence, as being not Sovereign merely but sole, — as the One Being without any greater, less or equal, full of all resources within, and in need of nothing, and, though infinitely One, yet being at the same time, a whole infinite universe, as I may say, in Himself; — so much so that the breadth and depth and richness and variety and splendor of this created world which we behold, is simply nothing at all, compared to the vastness of that ocean of perfection which lay concentrated in the intensity of His unity. A king of this world, though a sovereign, though an autocrat, depends on his subjects; but the Almighty God is absolutely and utterly free from any necessary alliance with His creatures. He is complete in Himself, for this reason, if for no other, that He existed for everlasting ages before any one of them was, and was able to do without them for a past eternity, and then created them all out of nothing.

He borrows nothing from them; He owes nothing whatever even to the highest of them; they, on the contrary, owe it to Him that they are even able to remain in their own proper nature, and they derive from Him, moment by moment, every pulsation of their life and every ray of such as they possess.

Such is the omnipotent, self-dependent God; fixed in His own centre, and needing no point of motion or vantage-ground out of Himself, whereupon to bring into action, or to use, or to apply, His inexhaustible power; He can make, He can unmake; He can decree and bring to pass; He can direct, control, and resolve, absolutely according to His will. He could create this vast material world, with all its suns and globes and its illimitable spaces, in a moment. All its overwhelming multiplicity of laws and complexity of formations, and intricacy of contrivances, both to originate and to accomplish, is with Him but the work of a moment. He could destroy it all, in all its parts, in a moment; in the same one moment He could create another universe instead of it, indefinitely more vast, more beautiful, more marvellous, and indefinitely unlike that universe which He was annihilating. He could bring into existence and destroy an infinite series of such universes, each in succession more perfect than that which immediately preceded it.

He is the Creator, too, of all the intellectual natures which exist, whether in the heavens above, or on the earth, or in the regions under the earth. Angels in their nine multitudinous orders, and men in their populous generations, good spirits and bad, saints and souls on trial, the saved and the lost, first, He created them and creates each in its own time; and next, He keeps the complete and exact tale of them all, as He keeps the catalogue also of all the beasts, the birds, the fishes, the reptiles and insects all over the earth. Not a sparrow falls without him; not a hair of our heads, but that He has counted in with the rest; and so, too, not a soul but He has before Him its whole history from the beginning to the end, and its very thoughts, words, and deeds and its every motion through every day, and its relative place in the scale of merit and of sin.

And, while He thus intermingles His presence and His operations with an ineffable intimacy of union in every place,

in every substance, in every act, everywhere, He is at the same time, as I have said, infinitely separated from everything, and absolutely incommunicable and unapproachable and self-dependent in His own glorious Essence. Nothing can add to Him; no one can be His creditor; no one can claim anything of Him; He has no duties (if I may use such a term) towards the beings He has created. It is a saying about earthly possessions, that property has its duties as well as its privileges. Such words and such ideas apply not to the self-subsisting, everlasting God.

He asks of His creatures, "Is it not lawful for Me to do what I will?" And St. Paul says of Him, "O man! who art thou that repliest against God? shall the thing formed say to Him who formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?" If I must still use the word "duties" or obligations of Almighty God, I will say, that He has obligations towards Himself, but none towards us. What binds Him is the dictate of His own holy and perfect attributes. He is just and true because His attributes are such; but we have no claim upon Him. Or, if we had claims, it is in consequence of His own gratuitous and express promise, by which indeed, He does bind Himself; and then He is but faithful to His own word, because He is the Truth, and His obligation is to Himself, and not to us. You know, my brethren, we, in our turn, have no duties towards the brute creation; there is no relation of justice between them and us. Of course we are bound not to treat them ill, for cruelty is an offence against that Holy Law which our Maker has written on our hearts, and is displeasing to Him.

But they can claim nothing at our hands; into our hands they are absolutely delivered. We may use them, we may destroy them at our pleasure, not our wanton pleasure, but still for our own ends, for our own benefit or satisfaction, provided we can give a rational account of what we do. Now, I do not say that the case is the same between us and our Maker, but it is illustrated by this parallel. He has no account at all to render to us; He has no claims of ours to settle; we are bound to Him; He is not bound to us, except as He binds Himself; we have no merit in His sight, and can do Him no

service, unless His promise brings these ideas into existence. I say, He is only bound by His own perfect nature, infinitely good, and holy, and true, as it is; and in that is the creature's stay. If we accuse Him, He will prevail, according to the text, "that Thou mayest be justified in Thy words, and mayest overcome when Thou art judged." And if we are utterly without claims upon Him as creatures, we are doubly destitute considered as sinners also; and thus, if even angels are unprofitable in His sight, what are we?

In the words of Holy Scripture (Job iv., lx., xv., xxii., xxv., xxxiii.,) "Can a man be compared with God? What doth it profit God if thou be just? or what dost thou give Him, if thy way be unspotted? Behold, even the moon doth not shine, and the stars are not pure in His sight. Behold, among His saints, none are unchangeable and the heavens are not pure in His sight. Behold, they that serve Him are not steadfast, and in His angels He found wickedness. How much more is man abominable and unprofitable, who drinketh iniquity like water! Behold, He taketh away, and who can hinder Him? Who will say to Him: What dost Thou? Why dost thou strive against Him for He giveth not account of any of His matters."

Such is the Omnipotence, the Self-dependence, the Self-sufficiency, the infinite Liberty of the Eternal God, our Creator and Judge. And now, this being so, let me go on to the particular thought which I wish, my brethren, to suggest to you for your reflection at this season.

It is, not merely that God became man, not merely that the All-possessing became destitute; but the point on which I shall particularly insist is, in contrast with what I have been enlarging on, that the All-powerful, the All-free, the Infinite, became and becomes, as the text says, "subject" to the creature; nay, not only a subject, but literally a captive, a prisoner, and that not once, but on many different occasions, and in many different ways.

Now, observe, my brethren, when the Eternal Son of God came among us, He might have taken our nature, as Adam received it, from the earth, and have begun His human life at a mature age; He might have been moulded under the immedi-

ate hand of the Creator; He need have known nothing of the feebleness of infancy or the slow growth of manhood. This might have been had He so willed; but no: He preferred the penance of taking His place in the line of Adam, and of being born of a woman. This was the very scandal of the ancient heretics, as it has been of free thinkers in all ages. They shrank from the notion of such a birth from Mary, as a something simply intolerable and past belief; and truly in that belief is the commencement of the wonderful captivity of the Infinite God, on which I am to dwell. Yet I will do no more than suggest so much of it to your devout meditation. I mean the long imprisonment He had, before His birth, in the womb of the Immaculate Mary. There was He in His human nature, who, as God, is everywhere; there was He as regards His human soul, conscious from the first with a full intelligence, and feeling the extreme irksomeness of the prison house, full of grace as it was.

At length He sees the light, and He is free, but free only that His imprisonment is changed. The very first act of His mother on His birth, is both an example and a figure of His life-long captivity. "Mary brought forth her first-born Son and wrapped Him in swaddling clothes, and laid Him in a manger." It is the custom in those southern parts to treat the new-born babe in a way strange to this age and country. The infant is swathed around with clothes resembling the winding sheet, the bandages and ligaments of the dead. You may recollect, my brethren, the account of Lazarus' revival; how that, when the miracle had lifted him up out of the tomb, there he lay motionless, till his fastenings were cut off from him. "He that had been dead came forth, bound hand and foot with winding bands and Jesus said to them, 'Loose him and let him go.'" So it was with that wonder-working Lord Himself, in His own infancy. He submitted to the customs, as well as to the ritual, of his nation; and, as He had lain so long in Mary's womb, so now again He left that sacred prison, only that her loving hands might manacle and fetter Him once more, inflicting on Him the special penance which He had chosen. And so, like some inanimate image of wood or stone,

the All-powerful lies in the manger, or on her bosom, doubly helpless, both because His infancy is feeble and because His bonds are strong.

It is in this wise He was shown to the shepherds, thus He was worshipped by the wise men; thus He was presented in the Temple, taken up in Simeon's arms, hurried off to Egypt by night, His tender mother adoring the while that abject captivity to which it was her awful duty to reduce Him. So His first months pass; and though, as time went on, He grew in stature and burst His bonds, still through a slow and tedious advance did He enter on His adolescence. And then, when for a moment He anticipated His mission and sat down among the doctors in the Temple, He was quickly recalled by His mother's chiding, and went back again to her and Joseph, and in the emphatic words of the text, was "subject unto them." It is said that He worked at His father's trade, not even yet His own master, and confined to the age of thirty to the limits of one city.

And when at length the hour came for His breaking away from His humble home and quitting Nazareth, even then this law of captivity, as I may call it, continued, and that even with the circumstances of a frightful development. For is it not terrifying, so as even to scare the mind, that in His infancy indeed, His mother's pure embrace had been His prison, but now, as a preparation for His public ministry, He is made over to His enemy, and undergoes the handling of the foul spirit himself. The rebel archangel, who would *not* be in subjection, who had assailed the throne of God and had been cast out of heaven, he it is who has now got fast hold of the Eternal Word Incarnate, and is lifting Him up, and transporting Him according to his will; taking Him into the holy city and setting Him upon the pinnacle of the Temple, and taking Him up into a very high mountain, in order to seduce Him with the bribe of the unshackled lordship of the wide earth. "What concord hath Christ with Belial?" Yet the fiend is allowed the momentary possession of the Omnipotent.

But at least when He has begun to preach, He will be free. My brethren, it is true; but even then the threatenings at

least and the earnests of a renewed captivity pursue Him. As soon as He does miracles and collects followers, His brethren take the alarm, and try to capture Him. "When His friends had heard of it, they went out to lay hold of Him, for they said, "He is mad." When He preached at Nazareth, "the people rose and seized Him violently, and brought Him to the brow of the hill, to cast Him headlong." At another time He was in danger from His own hearers; they went about to take Him by force to make Him a king. At another time, Herod was about to seize Him and put Him to death. At another time the "Scribes and Pharisees sent ministers to apprehend Him."

At length He is to die for us, but still that sacrifice was not to please Him, if imprisonment was away. He allowed Himself in the words of the Church, "*manibus tradi nocentium*," to be given into the hands of the violent. Now, I ask, what need of this superfluity of humiliation? He was to shed His blood and die; doubtless: but in the manifold dispositions of Providence there were many ways whereby to die, without falling into the fierce handling of jailers and hangmen. He might have taken upon Himself the mode of satisfying the Divine Decree, and have dispensed with the instrumentality of man. We read in history of kings going to death, who refused the assistance of the executioner, and submitted to their fate by their own act. And it was in order to remind us that He *need* not have undergone that profanation, that, on His enemies first approaching Him, He smote them to the ground. And again, it was in order to impress upon us that He *did* undergo it, that he touchingly asked them: "Are ye come out as to a robber with swords and clubs, to apprehend Me? but this is your hour and the power of darkness."

Thus He spoke, and that expostulation was the immediate signal for those special indignities to begin in which He chose to invest His passion and death. He who was submitted to the wine-press in Gethsemane, and agonized with none to see Him but apostles and attendant angels, might surely have gone through His solemn sacrifice in solitude, as He commenced it; but He preferred the "hands of men." He preferred the

loathsome kiss of the traitor; He preferred the staves and swords of the ministers of a fallen priesthood; He preferred to die in the midst of a furious mob, hauling Him to and fro; under the fists and scourges and hammers of savage lictors; now shut up in a dungeon, now dragged before the judgment seat, now tied to a pillar, now nailed to the Cross, and then, at length, when the worst was over, and His soul was fled, hurried, as the best His friends could do for Him, hurried into a narrow sepulchre of stone. O marvellous dispensation, full of mystery! that the God of Nature, the Lord of the Universe, should take to Himself a body to suffer and die in, not only so, but should not even allow Himself the birthright of man, should refuse to be master of His own limbs, and outgrow the necessity of a mother's arms, only to present Himself to the tyrannous grasp of the heathen soldiers.

And now surely, my brethren, we are come to the end of these wonders. He tore open the solid rock; He rose from the tomb; He ascended on high; He is far off from the earth; He is safe from profanation; and the soul and body which He assumed, partakes of course, as far as created nature allows, of the sovereign freedom and the independence of Omnipotence. It is not so; He is indeed beyond the reach of suffering; but you anticipate, my brethren, what I have yet to say. Is He, then, so enamored of the prison that He should propose to revisit earth again, in order that, as far as possible, He may undergo it still. Does He set such a value on subjection to His creatures, that, before He goes away, on the very eve of His betrayal, He must actually make provision, after death, for perpetuating His captivity to the end of the world? My brethren, the great truth is daily before our eyes; He has ordained the standing miracle of His body under visible symbols that He may secure thereby the standing mystery of Omnipotence in bonds.

He took bread and blessed it, and made it His body; He took wine, and gave thanks, and made it His blood; and He gave His priests the power to do what He had done. Henceforth, He is in the hands of sinners once more. Frail, ignorant, sinful man, by the sacerdotal power given to Him, com-

pels the presence of the Highest, he lays Him up in a small tabernacle; he dispenses Him to a sinful people. Those who are only just now cleansed from mortal sin, open their lips for Him; those who are soon to return to mortal sin, receive Him into their breasts; those who are polluted with vanity and selfishness and ambition and pride, presume to make Him their guest; the frivolous, the tepid, the worldly-minded, fear not to welcome Him. Alas! alas! even those who wish to be more in earnest entertain Him with cold and wandering thoughts, and quench that Love which would enflame them with its own fire, did they but open to it. Such are the best of us; and then for the worst! O, my brethren, what shall we say of sacrilege? of His reception into hearts polluted with mortal, unforsaken sin? of those further nameless profanations, which from time to time, occur, when unbelief dares to present itself at the holy altar and blasphemously gains possession of Him?

My brethren, it is plain that, when we confess God as Omnipotent only, we have gained but a half-knowledge of Him: His is an Omnipotence which can at the same time swathe itself in infirmity and can become the captive of its own creatures. He has, if I may so speak, the incomprehensible power of even making Himself weak. We must know Him by His names, Emmanuel, and Jesus, to know Him perfectly.

One word more before I conclude. Some persons may consider that a thought, such as that I have been enlarging on, is a difficulty to faith. Every one has his own trials and his own scandals, grant it. For is it not terrifying.

For me, my brethren, I can only say that its effect upon myself lies just in the very opposite direction and, awful as it is, it does but suggest matter, as for adoration so for faith also. What human teacher could thus open for us an insight into the infinitude of the Divine counsels? Eye of man hath not seen the face of God; and the heart of man could never have conceived or invented so wonderful a manifestation, as the Gospel contains, of His ineffable, overwhelming attributes. I believe the Infinite condescension of the Highest to be true, because it has been imagined. Moreover, I recognize it to be true just as I believe in the laws of this material world, accord-

ing as human science elicits them; viz., because I see here the silent operation, beneath the surface, of a great principle, which is not seen till it is investigated. I adore a truth which, though patent to all who look for it, yet to be seen in its consistency and symmetry, has to be looked for. And further I glory in it, for I see in it the most awful antagonism to the very idea and essence of sin, whether as existing in angels or in men. For what was the sin of Lucifer but the resolve to be his own master? What was the sin of Adam but impatience of subjection and a desire to be his own god? What is the sin of all his children but the movement, not of passions merely, not of selfishness, not of unbelief, but of pride, of the heart rising against the law of God, and set on being emancipated from its trammels? What is the sin of Anti-Christ but, as St. Paul says, that of being "the lawless one," of opposing or being lifted up against all that is called God, or worshipped, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God?" If then, the very principle of sin is insubordination, is there not a stupendous meaning in the fact, that He the Eternal, who alone is sovereign and supreme, has given us an example in His own person of that love of subjection, which in Him alone is simply voluntary, but in all creatures is an elementary duty?

O my brethren, let us blush at our own pride and self-will. Let us call to mind our impatience at God's providence towards us, our wayward longings after what cannot be, our headstrong efforts to reverse His just decrees, our bootless conflicts with the stern necessities which hem us in, our irritation at ignorance or suspense about His will, our fierce passionate wilfulness when we see that will too clearly, our haughty contempt of His ordinances, our determination to do things for ourselves without Him, our preference of our own reason to His word,—the many, many shapes in which the old Adam shows itself, and one or other of which our conscience tells us is our own; and let us pray Him who is independent of us all, yet who at this season became as though our fellow and our servant, to teach us our place in His wide universe, and to make us ambitious only of that grace here and glory hereafter, which He has purchased for us by His own humiliation.

ANALYSIS OF CARDINAL NEWMAN'S SERMON.

A study of simple style, idiom, and a beautiful development of the sublime idea of Omnipotence shackled.

"Omnipotence in Bonds."

Syllogism — Any person, even an omnipotent being, who obeys another, is the subject of that other person; but, God gave obedience to His Virgin Mother and even now obeys the sacramental words; therefore, God in all His omnipotence was and is subject to man.

Exordium — At this Christmas season — with which we receive it into our hearts.

Narration — I say then, — "for He giveth not account of any of His matters."

Proposition — It is, not merely that God made man, — in many different ways.

Confirmation — Now, observe, my brethren, — to know Him perfectly.

Refutation — One word more before I conclude, — but in all creatures is an elementary duty.

Peroration — O my brethren, — by His own humiliation.

Omnipotence in Bonds is the placing under restraint and shackle the All-powerful and the All-free.

This Christ has done in His life for men.

The Omnipotence is shown in the God who makes and unmakes worlds, and guides the being of the tiniest creature.

Christ limited His Infinite power and freedom in the womb of the Virgin Mary, in the swaddling clothes of Bethlehem, in the limits of Nazareth, in the Sacramental Species.

This is Omnipotence in Bonds.

PRACTICE.

(1) Point out the metaphors, similes. See how few.

(2) Note the words of Anglo-Saxon origin.

(3) Observe the simple sentences — and how clear are the long ones.

(4) How gradual the march of reasoning.

(5) How complete the series of thoughts.

CHAPTER VIII.

QUALITIES OF THE ORATOR.

Some qualifications were given in the first chapter.

The qualities of the orator as given by various rhetoricians have been summed up by the Rev. L. T. Townsend in his excellent analysis of Demosthenes' "Speech on the Crown," and given forth as practical inferences from the speech itself.

— *Studies in Eloquence. Vol. II.*

The orator should be: —

(1) Strong bodily and in vigorous health.
"Mens sana in corpore sano."

(2) Should have goodness of character.
"Nemo orator nisi vir bonus."

(3) Should have emotional nature and keen sensibilities.
Si vis me flere dolendum est primum ipsi tibi.

(4) Earnest.
Respice finem.

(5) Self-possessed.
Sui compos.

(6) Morally fearless.
Nec hominem nec dæmonem timeat.

(7) Should have strong convictions; positive opinions.
Nil assumat sibi quod non possit probari.

(8) Should have perseverance and industry.
Labor limæ.

(9) Logical.
Sibi constet.

(10) Should be master in poetic representation.
Orator nascitur ut poeta.

(11) Be philosopher.
Quærat veritatem.

(12) Philosophic memory.
Memor sit præteriti.

(13) Should have extensive learning.
Thesaurus sapientiæ.

(14) Be master of the art of eloquence.
Facundia sit animorum magistra.

(15) Be master of the art of rhetoric.
Rhetores perdiscat.

(16) Should be by study and practice familiar with figures and emphasis.
Hic labor est.

(17) Familiar with tactics and artifices of oratory.
Callet artem inimici.

(18) Should gain naturalness of style.
Cor ad cor loquitur.

(19) Should have instinct and grace of popularity.
Auditores conciliat.

(20) Should conform to the following requirements : —

(1) Have a knowledge of persons addressed.
Perpendat statum, ætatem, sexum auditorum.

(2) Aim to shorten the distance between speaker and hearer.
Loquatur ut ad amicos.

(3) Aim to be single.
Unum respiciat.

(4) Be able to seize on what is passing.
Flumina captat.

(5) Believe in the cause he advocates.
Credat sibi.

(6) Be determined to win his case.
Aut vincere aut mori.

(7) His self-assertion should be supplemented by self-renunciation.
Sit fortis et modestus.

SOME MASTERPIECES OF ORATORY.

Demosthenes,	On the Crown.
Cicero,	Defence of Milo.
Fox,	Rejection of Napoleon's Overtures.
Sheridan,	Trial of Warren Hastings.
Curran,	Defence of Rowan.
Burke,	The Arcot Debts.
Brougham,	Law Reform.
Grattan,	Speech on Irish Rights.
O'Connell,	The Irish Coercion Bill.
Erskine,	Defence of Lord George Gordon.
Canning,	King's Message Regarding Portugal.
Otis,	In Behalf of American Independence.
Patrick Henry,	Oration on American Independence.
Henry Clay,	Speech at Lexington, Ky.
Webster,	Reply to Hayne; Trial of the Knapps.
Calhoun,	Force Bill.
Choate,	Eulogy on Daniel Webster.
Pinckney,	Case of the Nereide.

CHAPTER IX.

STYLE.

In relation to style I shall consider that which refers especially to the orator in the clothing of his arguments: —

The first quality of all style is clearness, that is, the style should not only make the idea possible to be understood, but should make it impossible for the idea not to be understood.

The style is individual to the man who is speaking, and his way of expressing his ideas is his style. It should not be understood to be an assemblage of phrases, fine figures, or apt expressions, used with art and skill, and located with a certain nicety. It is rather the thought of the man transferring itself into the most suitable words. The style, evidently, will vary according to the quality and capacity of the hearers.

There are two extremes to be avoided, extreme brevity or great copiousness. The first presents a thought which is not grasped by an audience, the second grows wearisome.

What is recommended by all authorities from Aristotle to Whately is to make use of repetition. Not a repetition of the same idea in the same words, but a repetition of the thoughts, sometimes in a simple way, again by means of figures, by question and answer, turning the same subject up, again and again, in a different light.

Another help to clearness of style is to avoid sentences that are long and obscure, so that care must be taken, if the sentences be long, that each portion may be easily grasped.

A caution to be observed is this, that oftentimes, a speaker may imagine that because an idea is clear in his own mind, therefore, it is so to his hearers, and thus, his expression of his ideas may not supply the deficiency that exists in their minds.

Effectiveness in style depends upon the *choice* of words, the *number* and the *arrangement.*

Avoid an unusual word as a sailor avoids a rock, employ words that express the idea and no more, and arrange them in the order that will express the idea with the best effect.

Words are used in their proper or ordinary sense, or in a figurative or transferred meaning, as tropes and metaphors.

We use the *metaphor* only when it is *more* significant than the word in its *ordinary* sense.

It is more forcible to use the individual, instead of the general term.

Thus to say "the perfume of the flowers is sweet," is not so vivid as to say "the violet has a delightful fragrance."

Antony refers to the "Daggers that stabbed Cæsar." (*Whately*, page 187.)

"As with red-handed horror he was smitten," is a simile or comparison containing a metaphor.

It may be observed that the *metaphor*, in general, is more appropriate to *Oratory* and the *simile* to *Poetry.*

Personification is the most energetic form of metaphor,

which gives to inanimate beings, the qualities of living persons.

Whately says that Aristotle considers that the skillful use of metaphors may be regarded as a mark of genius.

The over use of epithets, or a uniformly brilliant style should be avoided, or the epithets will lose their force, and there will be no room left for contrast.

Imitative harmony in the use of words should not be directly aimed at in prose, as the result will always be preferable if it is obtained by the words that best convey the thought.

In the combination of simple, loose, balanced sentences and periods, let the directing principle be the character of the thoughts to be expressed, and the animation of the speaker.

WHAT IS IT THAT MAKES A GOOD STYLE.

In his essay on the "Philosophy of Style," Herbert Spencer gives some excellent suggestions. "There can be little question," he says "that good construction, is far less dependent upon acquaintance with its laws, than upon practice and natural aptitude. A clear head, a quick imagination, and a sensitive ear will go far towards making all rhetorical precepts needless." "The principle of *economy* applied to words," he goes on to say, "is one of the great secrets of style." Some practical result, however, is to be hoped from a familiarity with the principles of style.

He indicates the character of metaphorical language by showing how ideas are communicated by signs. To say "leave the room" is less expressive than to *point to*

the door. Placing a finger on the lips is more forcible than whispering "do not speak." A beck of the hand is better than "come here." No phrase can convey the idea of surprise so vividly as opening the eyes and raising the eyebrows. Economy of words, then, adds force. The reason why metaphors, properly used, are better than plain language is that they economise the attention and work on the part of the audience. In other words they place, instead of sounds, a picture before the mind, to represent ideas.

THE STUDY OF PURE ENGLISH IDIOM.

No better author can be recommended for the study of pure English idiom than John Henry Newman, who is universally acknowledged the greatest master of prose then living. (Notes to Spencer's "Philosophy of Style." Note A.)

Walter Savage Landor says of idiomatic expressions. "Every good writer has much idiom, it is the life and spirit of the language; and none ever entertained a fear or apprehension that strength and sublimity were to be lowered by it."

"In all literature we have but one instance of this perfect versatility in style — the writings of the myriad-minded Shakespeare. There, every character has its own peculiar way of speaking; no two converse in exactly the same tone. Witness the hollow stateliness of the hypocritical King in Hamlet; the astuteness and play of the crafty Polonius; the caustic humor of the grave diggers; and the grand, natural outpourings of Hamlet's noble soul, fierce as the whirlwind when soliloquising — gentle as the dew of heaven when with the

friend he wears in his heart of hearts, the true Horatio — every word two-edged and striking home with great force, when dealing with his masked enemies in moments of assumed lunacy. But Shakespeare is an exception." — (Note G.)

THE PLACE OF LOGIC IN ORATORY.

The object of all public speaking, where logic prevails, is to carry some point. To carry one's point, a knowledge of the subject is absolutely necessary and this logic fails to supply. (Cf. Part I.)

An *Enthymeme* is a syllogism, in use by the orator, the major or minor premise of which is omitted. For example: "We ought to love what renders us more perfect: therefore we ought to love literature."

Sorites is a chain of arguments depending upon one another in such a way that the predicate of the first becomes the subject of the second and so on until the conclusion is reached when the subject of the first is joined to the predicate of the last. "Whatever makes a sound moves; what moves is not frozen hard; that which is not hard is liquid; liquid will bend under weight; therefore, if I perceive, close at hand, the sound of water, the ice is too weak to bear me."

An *Epichireme* is a syllogism to which is added the proof of the major or minor proposition. "A sport that threatens to exterminate game should be abolished by law. But seine fishing threatens to exterminate game since in a butcherly way it destroys uselessly large numbers of fish. Therefore, seine fishing should be abolished by law."

The *Dilemma* is an argument consisting of two parts

either of which will refute the adversary. Retort is the best method of destroying a dilemma. For instance, in the case of Protagoras and Eualthus. Protagoras said: "If I gain the cause, you must pay me by the court's decree: if I lose the cause, you must pay me by the terms of the agreement." To this Eualthus replied: "If I gain the cause I shall not pay you by the decree of the court: if I lose it I shall not pay you, by the terms of our agreement." (Cf. Part I.)

An *a priori* argument looks to effects, deducing them from causes already known.

An *a posteriori* argument is concerned with causes of things, inferring them from consequences. It is an argument from effect to cause.

For example (*a priori*). Cicero shows that Pompey possesses all the qualities of a general, bravery, skill, success, etc., and then draws the conclusion that Pompey is a good general.

(*A posteriori.*) A human foot-print has been seen upon a desert island; one may, therefore, infer that at some time a man has been upon the island.

The speech of Mark Antony in Shakespeare's play "Julius Cæsar" is a masterpiece of oratory and matchless example of argumentation, *a posteriori;* it is powerful in language and conclusive in its effects.

An argument from *example* is based upon resemblance. For example, "A city in many ways resembles the human heart; but the human heart is injured by excessive enlargement, etc.; therefore, a city too may suffer from overgrowth."

Reductio ad absurdum is a form of argument that proves the adversary's conclusion untenable and impos-

sible. For example, *Erskine:* "If this book is a libel, then, too, are all the brightest pages in English literature a libel: but this is absurd; therefore, it is also absurd to say that this book is a libel."

The argument *ad hominem* shows our opponent's stand to be in opposition to known habits of his life. As for instance to prove a man, speaking in favor of temperance, to be a drunkard.

Refutation requires the greatest attention on the part of the orator, since it looks principally to logic, without which oratory loses all its strength. It is not only necessary to dispose of the opponent's arguments, but also to establish our own.

Ignorance of the subject. Here you may correct his statement of facts. To do this you may destroy some one of his assertions, and by so doing bring disfavor upon the rest.

"*Begging the question*" is one of the commonest fallacies of reasoning, consisting in merely repeating the argument in a different form. For example, *Moliere:* "Why is your daughter dumb?" "Because she has lost the power of speech." "How is it that she has lost the power of speech?" "Because the action of her tongue is impeded."

"*The vicious circle*" is another form of begging the question. It consists in supporting the first argument by the second, the second by the third, the third by the first. Sometimes, however, one proposition may support another without any damage being done.

Imperfect enumeration is an error of defective induction, and consists in drawing a generalized conclusion from a given number of examples, at the same time

overlooking contradictory examples. For instance "The French are white, the English are white, etc.; therefore, all men are white."

Proving too much. As, for instance, to say that, "in consideration of the fact that literature may have suffered while Catholicity was in the ascendancy, the Catholics were responsible for the state of affairs."

The mistaking of the question is called by logicians *ignoratio elenchi.*

Analogy. An argument based upon direct resemblance. "A city in many ways resembles the human heart; but the human heart is injured by excessive enlargement; therefore, a city, too, is harmed by overgrowth." To upset an argument we must show a defect in the reasoning. To prove that it is merely probable, virtually disproves the argument.

Fallacy of interrogation. The fallacy consists in so varying the queries as to institute another inquiry while seeming to adhere to the real question: it may also be overthrown by means of a parallel series of counter questions.

Ambiguity of terms falls under this head. Knowledge of the language and of the special terminology, constitutes a remedy against this fallacy. Aristotle remarks that all these fallacies may be referred to an ignorance of the real question. The importance of a clear statement of the proposition follows from this. According to Lord Coke it should be single, certain, material, and triable.

Reasoning by facts. This is a short way of investigating, illustrating and proving, by the citation of facts. In narrative it infuses life, by the rejection of unnecessary detail. The opposite is only productive of weariness.

STYLE IN ORATORY AND THE FIGURES USED BY ORATORS.

Importance of *style.* For the orator, style is of the greatest importance, for without it, all arguments are ineffectual. Quintilian says, "Grace of style contributes greatly to the success of the cause, — for those who listen are pleased, and sometimes carried away by admiration."

Perspicuity is the first quality of oratorical style. The style should be clear, so that the audience not only can understand what is said, but cannot help understanding it. The necessity of this cannot be too frequently insisted upon.

The second quality is *Directness.* The orator should constantly address his audience as if conversing with them; it arouses their attention and helps to perspicuity.

Appropriateness to the subject is the third quality. We must adapt our style to our thoughts. If we wish to convince, we must be plain and simple; to please we must be modest; to persuade we must be forcible.

The fourth quality is *appropriateness to the audience.* The orator must adapt his language to the understanding of the audience. Lofty minds have often stooped to the common thoughts of the uneducated. Example, *Cardinal Newman.* "When a body of men come into a neighborhood to them unknown, as we are doing, my brethren, strangers to strangers, and there set themselves down, and raise an altar, and open a school, and invite or even exhort all men to attend them, it is natural that they who see them and are drawn to think about them, should ask the question, What brings them

hither? Who bid them come? What do they want? What do they preach? What is their warrant? What do they promise? You have a right my brethren to ask the question. . . ."

The fifth quality is *beauty* or *ornament.* Ornament should not be confined to one part, but should affect the whole oration. We should only use ornaments to add clearness to our speech. Figures too often lead to obscurity. If the style has clearness and beauty, then it becomes *popular*, that is, the people love to hear it. The orator, to this end, must study the minds of his hearers, try to discern their tastes. He must know the audience, their weaknesses and their virtues, etc. Above all he must know the *human heart.* This is acquired by constant intercourse with his fellow men. But he must first understand himself *thoroughly.*

The treatment of a subject must be *copious.* An important point must be treated fully, and, more than once; it must be repeated, only in different terms. Now by illustration, and now by reasoning; once in general, and again by particular examples.

In ordinary conversation one should use polished and refined terms, avoid all rude and faulty expressions, and slang words. For it is on this ordinary style of conversation that depends the style in extempore debate. Avoid affectation, pedantry, and words not sanctioned by use; we recommend words of Saxon origin, as being often more expressive. "No portion of even our common conversation should be careless; whatever we say on any occasion, should be as far as possible, excellent in its way." *Quintilian.*

Style is defined to be "the peculiar manner in which any one expresses his thoughts by means of language."

There are three kinds, the simple, the medium, and the sublime. The simple is best adapted for instructing, the medium for pleasing and the sublime for moving, yet each kind must not be used exclusively for the purpose for which it is best adapted. The orator should not aim exclusively at instructing, or at pleasing, or at moving his audience in each discourse, but he should aim to attain all these three ends.

The style cannot be determined by the different parts of the oration for the exordium may be sublime, or simple or temperate, the body of the discourse full of animation and of figures of speech and the peroration exceedingly simple, especially if it is a mere recapitulation. Common sense alone should guide the orator in choosing the style.

Style is Clear, when we may grasp the thought without effort; Simple, when it is easily understood, and when there is nothing complicated in the language used and in the structure of the sentence; Harmonious, when the words and sentences flow with a musical cadence; Strong or Energetic; when the words chosen are vigorous, lofty, animated, and closely knit together; Pure, when it is correct in point of grammatical construction; Dignified, when it possesses the qualities of strength, nobility and gracefulness which are imparted by the selection of appropriate terms; Suitable, when it is adapted to the matter of which one is treating.

The pathetic style is employed in arousing the various passions of the heart. To move the feelings of others, the orator, while speaking, must be moved by the same emotions he wishes to arouse in them.

FIGURES OF WORDS.

By figurative language we mean that in which the words are not used in their ordinary sense, but in a sense which gives to them a force which they had not before.

Figures are divided into figures which consist in the word itself, and into figures which consist in the thought expressed by words.

The figures of words are called Tropes or Metaphors.

A trope or metaphor is the turning of a word from its original meaning. As "Spring awakes the flowers."

The chief tropes are Catachresis, Metonymy, Synecdoche, Antonomasia, Metaphor, Allegory, Fable, Parable, Simile.

Catachresis, a figure of speech which by abuse, extension or imitation turns words from their primitive meaning: as "He gazed upon a sea of heads." (extension.) To ride upon a rail. (abuse.) The leaves of a book. (imitation.)

Metonymy, by which we put the name of one thing for the name of another. This may take place in six ways.

(1) The cause for the effect. "He unfortunately gave himself up to the worship of Bacchus."

(2) The effect for the cause. "So much the stronger proved He with His thunder."

(3) The sign for the thing signified. "He left the gown and took the sword."

(4) The container for the thing contained. "He unfortunately took to the bottle."

(5) The abstract for the concrete. "Youth is generally giddy."

(6) The place for the thing. "He was carried to the house in a sedan."

Synecdoche, by which we give a particular meaning to a word which has a more general meaning or vice versa, in the following ways: —

(1) Taking a part for the whole. "All hands on deck."

(2) The whole for a part. "He wore a beaver."

(3) The singular for the plural. "The Celt is hot-tempered."

(4) The plural for the singular. "The poets tell us."

(5) Genus for species and vice versa. "No mortal could endure it." "Thou shalt eat bread at my table."

(6) A certain number for an indefinite one. "The hero of a hundred battles,"

(7) The matter for the thing itself. "The sacred thirst of gold."

Antonomasia, putting a common name for a proper and vice versa. "The Roman Orator. He is a Junius."

Metaphor, by which we transfer a word from its ordinary signification to one that is foreign to it with effect. "He reined in his fancy."

Allegory, a continuous metaphor, which under the veil of its proper meaning conceals a purely figurative one, e.g. "The Skull." *Byron.*

Fable, a short allegory or feigned story intended to enforce some moral precept. *Æsop's Fables.*

Parable, a similitude, or a story under which something else is figured.

Simile or *comparison*, by which we expressly liken one thing to another. "He doth bestride the narrow world like a Colossus."

There are also other figures which are not tropes, i.e. which do not change the signification or meaning of the word, as

Repetition, which consists in repeating the same word several times to add grace or energy, e.g. "Every man of every rank, nay of every age, is now waiting without." "The Forum was crowded; the Temples round the Forum are crowded; and all the passages to this house are crowded."

Conjunction, which consists in the multiplication of particles in sentences to lay a greater stress upon the principle thought. "For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth, nor action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech, to stir men's blood."

Disjunction, which retrenches these copulative particles in

order to give greater rapidity to the style, e.g. "Rider and horse, friend foe, in one red burial blent."

Ellipsis, which consists in the suppression of words necessary to complete the grammatical construction, e.g. "I love thee, inconstant, faithful what should I have done — ?"

Pleonasm, which consists in adding certain words which might be easily left out, as "I saw him with my own eyes."

FIGURES OF THOUGHT.

A Figure of Thought is one that consists in the thought itself independent of the expression.

In figures of words the figure consists in the transferred meaning of the single word.

The chief figures of thought are: —

Interrogation, which consists in asking a number of questions. "And will we submit? Has it come to this?"

Subjection, which consists in putting questions to one's self and answering them. "Would you live this life a week? Nay! rather die to-morrow."

Apostrophe, by which we address ourselves to some absent being, whether living or dead. "Age, thou art sham'd! Rome, thou hast lost a breed of noble bloods!"

Exclamation, in which one utters interjections in order to express some lively emotion of soul: "O Vanity! O Nothingness! O mortals ignorant of their destiny."— *Bossuet.*

Prosopopœia, a bold personification by which all kinds of beings living or dead, real or imaginary, etc., are made to appear before our audience and address them. "O mother mine, whose eyes speak to me."

Invocation, a kind of prayer addressed to some being to ask his aid or procure his presence.

> "And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
> Before all temples the upright heart and pure,
> Instruct me, for Thou know'st."

Imprecation, by which we invoke heaven or hell or any evil against some object odious to us. "Merciful heavens! What does this mean?"

Hypotyposis, by which an event is narrated so vividly that we fancy we see it before our eyes. "See how he shrinks in shame."

Climax, by which we rise or descend gradually from one circumstance to another, e.g. "It is a crime to put a Roman citizen in bonds; it is the height of guilt to scourge him; little less than parricide to put him to death; what name then shall I give to crucifying him?"

Irony, by which under the proper sense of the words there is concealed a meaning just the opposite to that which they naturally convey! "O Jew! an upright judge, a learned judge."

Hyperbole, by which we exaggerate anything either by adding to it, or taking from it. "Worn to a shadow."

Litotes, by which we heighten the idea, while seeming to lessen it by our words. "He is no fool."

Periphrasis, which by circumlocution elevates and ennobles an idea that might be briefly expressed. "The slaves of Milo did that which every one would like his slaves to do in similar circumstances."

Antithesis, by which we oppose words to words and thoughts to thoughts.

> "But yesterday, the word of Cæsar might
> Have stood against the world; now lies he there,
> And none so poor to do him reverence."

Suspension, which consists in stopping suddenly in the midst of a sentence, to give the audience time, as it were, to guess what is going to follow. "And you!—ah! it were better not to say it."

Preterition or Pretermission, which consists in pretending to pass over something, or merely to touch upon it, while in reality you do not pass over it, but strongly insist upon it. "I shall pass over his meanness of spirit, his vileness, his total lack of courage."

Communication, by which the orator confiding in the goodness of his cause and the soundness of his reasons trusts himself to the decision of the judges, hearers or even of his opponent.

Reticence, by which a speaker suddenly stops in the middle

of a sentence and passes on without completing what he was going to say: "O thou, by what name can I properly call thee!"

Correction, in which the speaker corrects his words or thoughts and substitutes others stronger or more apt to express his meaning. "His conduct towards me has ever been unbecoming, or rather it would, perhaps, be more correct to call it insolent."

Epiphonema, an exclamation or a short reflection at the end of a narration upon the subject about which one has just been treating. "History is full of the tragical adventures of wicked princes, who perished, the victims of their own tyranny."

Oratorical figures sometimes counted among the figures of thought.

Enumeration of Parts, an assemblage of all details and circumstances that can elevate the subject and leave a strong impression on the mind.

Allusion, by which in our treatment of a subject we cause our hearers or our readers to perceive some resemblance between the things or persons of whom we speak and those with whom they are already familiar.

Induction, by which something doubtful is proved from the similarity with that which has been already admitted.

Description, a short discourse in which all the features which characterize any object whatever, are given in detail.

Portrait, a description which we make of animate beings.

Parallel, a comparison between two objects or two persons, in which comparison we examine and explain their relations and their differences.

Contrast, the opposition of one thing to another: "In works of reasoning Truth is as a king at the head of his army on the day of battle; in works of imagination it is a queen on the day of her coronation."

Hypothesis or Supposition, consisting in supposing something either as possible or impossible, from which we draw certain consequences.

The section on style and figures is given briefly, as a convenient reference for the detailed study of the oration.

The question of figures is treated in greater detail by Coppens, Doyle, Genung, Beautain, to whom indebtedness is acknowledged for many of the preceding illustrations.

HINTS ON SPEECH MAKING.

Certainly there are a few suggestions to be made which are not to be found in the elocutionary manuals, and which would have saved the present writer much trouble and some anguish had anyone thought of offering them to him before he left college.

First, have something to say — that must be said — as a general must have a "taste for fighting."

Second — Always speak in a natural key and in a conversational manner. Address your neighbor in a conversational way and when you rise, say "I was just saying to the gentleman who sits beside me," and then repeat your remark over again. This will make the last words of your private address the first of your public speech.

Third — "Never carry a scrap of paper before an audience." It is of far more value to be in communication with your audience, than to forget something, of which they will be none the wiser.

Fourth — Plan out a series of a few points, as simple and orderly as possible; simple for your own convenience and that of your audience, orderly that you may easily remember them.

Fifth — Plan beforehand one good fact and one good illustration under each head of your speech. You must hold your audience. The fact may be from your own experience or from a book, but it must be brief, clear, telling; the illustration grave or gay, from poetry

or the newspaper corner, Shakespeare or Artemus Ward: no matter, so that it will hit the mark. Most people have a sense of humor, high or low: all people have more or less imagination, however concealed by the stolid habits of daily life. George Herbert says "A verse may find him who a sermon flies," and if he had written "jest" in place of "verse" it would have been quite as true.

Sixth — Do not torment yourself up to the last minute about your speech, but give your mind a rest before it.

Make sure of ample preparation, and mental clearness and freshness. — T. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

THE AUDIENCE.

"The audience before whom the political orator has to speak is generally made up of persons eminent in rank, intelligence and gravity. The surest way to gain ascendancy over such assemblies is to use the simple language of unimpassioned reason. In the application of this principle, however, regard is to be had to the number of auditors, the spirit of the nation and political circumstances.

"The history of eloquence presents us with no nobler examples of fervid enthusiasm, passionate appeal, scornful deprecation and withering invective than we find in the speeches of Demosthenes, Cicero, Chatham and O'Connell.

"Nevertheless, even these grand orators gained their object rather by the power of lucid, strong argument, clothed in simple, energetic language, than by impassioned utterance. Such, in ordinary cases, easily degenerate into turgid declamation.

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"This rule becomes obsolete in the case of popular assemblies. The masses are, as it were, a turbulent sea of passions, and success requires, in addition to strength and clearness of argument, energy and vehemence of feeling and expression."

"To political eloquence belong those burning words that military leaders are wont to address to their soldiers, either to animate them to vigor in attacking or resisting, or to congratulate them on achieved success.

"Such discourses ought to breathe martial energy and patriotic enthusiasm."—P. A. HALPIN, S. J., *Precepts of Literature.*

THE CHRIA.

(A method for writing a discourse or essay.)

A Chria is a method of development of a saying, or of an action, or of both, and contains several divisions.

From the definition of the term we ascertain

(1) Why it is called a chria; because it discourses on the instruction contained in the fact, or in the maxim, in such a way that it is useful; Greek χρεία.

(2) There are three classes of chrias; the verbal, the historical and the mixed. The "*verbal chria*" is that which sets forth a wise maxim as, "Time's avarice alone is honest." The "*historical chria*" relates to a deed in which the lesson is skillfully brought out. Thus Pythagoras when he wished to teach his disciples to speak, ordered them to be silent for five years. The "*mixed chria*" draws its conclusion from a fact, to which a maxim is added: "Diogenes whilst roaming through the forum with his lamp lighted at mid-day, was asked his mission, he replied that he was in quest of an honest man."

(3) The development should not be too free, but according to order and regularity.

The Chria has eight parts.

(1) The *commendation*, in which the author of the proverb or the exploit is praised;

(2) The *paraphrase* in which the meaning of the saying or action is shown to better advantage;

(3) The *cause*, which assigns a reason for them;

(4) The *contrast* and

(5) *Resemblance* which are used for illustration;

(6) *Example* and

(7) *Testimony*, which add strength;

(8) *Conclusion*, which recalls the subject of the chria and recommends it to our favor.

(1) The *commendation*. This may be called the exordium. It should be adapted to the person commended, and suited to the proposition of the whole case. It should be brief and modest. It may happen that the proverb is taken from an author who is no less deserving of censure than of praise. In this case, either praise the man for his good qualities and reprehend him for his faults, or discuss only his maxim, commending him for its strength, merit or renown.

(2) The *paraphrase*. It expresses the idea in other words, as in the following examples: "Friends hold all things in common." "Fortune delights the brave." "As long as you are happy you will have friends." Sometimes the contrary is refuted. "There is nothing so distasteful that from it a great mind cannot derive some consolation."

(3) The *cause*. Either the truth of the maxim is proven by arguments, or if there can be no doubt

about it, the reason is given why it is so. Thus it would be useful to declare that life is short; we should give our reason why it is short.

(4) The *contrast.* This affords illustration by comparison, since when contraries are placed side by side the dissimilarity is more readily seen.

(5) The *similitude* or *resemblance.* This gives delight as well as being means of illustration.

(6) *Example* and *testimony* call to aid the knowledge of men who testify that the maxim is true.

(7) The *conclusion* repeats the whole subject by heads, or principal points, of the maxim itself, with the exhortation.

In the chrias, care must be taken to have the various heads closely connected. Transitions should follow the argument from which they are drawn, and should be natural, and skillfully made.

This will be found to be a very useful method for the building up of a short essay, or will suggest an orderly and apt method for an extempore speech.

Example of a Chria.

A MAXIM FROM HORACE.

"In the second epistle of Horace's First Book, we find the words '*Dimidium facti qui coepit habet.*' This may be best rendered by our equivalent proverb 'Well begun is half done.' The resemblance of the two phrases is remarkable, but similar expressions may be found in many languages, which proves that the saying of Horace was found worthy of translation and adoption in other languages and also that the philosophy of the proverb is everywhere acknowledged.

"Every undertaking must have a beginning and it is only a reasonable conclusion that that which is begun best, will have the best chances of success. On the other hand if we enter upon an enterprise slothfully and carelessly, the end will be no less like the beginning, and we can entertain but little hope of success.

"Our great men of to-day did not attain their present positions without a long struggle. They once had to begin the battle and the secret of their success is that they began well.

"With the maxim of Horace before us in all our undertakings, we can expect from its observance, that what we have begun well will reach a fitting conclusion."

RHETORIC IN A NUTSHELL.

Rhetoric is the art of persuasion, Persuasion is the bringing the mind to do what you desire. It is accomplished by conviction and moving the feelings. Conviction consists in presenting the truth by means of Arguments. An argument is a reason in favor of truth. Moving the feelings is the presentation of truth in such a way that it seems to be a good to be desired. Truth is the conformity of the idea which you present, with the reality. Invention is the finding of arguments adapted to persuade. Disposition is the arrangement of arguments found. Elocution is the adjustment of words and sentences to the arguments found.

Circumstances to be considered:—

(1) Speaker,
(2) Object of speaker,
(3) Nature, or time and place of the affair.

Division of arguments — A priori and *a posteriori.*

Common Topics — Intrinsic and Extrinsic.

Parts of an Oration —

(1) Exordium;

(2) Exposition, Narration, Proposition, Division.

(3) Declaration, Confirmation, Confutation.

(4) Peroration, Arrangement: Natural and Artificial.

Things to be considered before the finding of arguments: — .

Matter — That which is considered.

Question — That which is debated of the subject.

Unlimited Question — Not confined to any particular person or thing — thesis and proposition.

Limited Question — Limited to definite person and circumstances.

State of the Case — What must be investigated.

Purpose — What the orator wishes to effect.

Proposition — What the orator wishes to prove.

The orator must be a man of good sense, good principles, and be friendly disposed towards his audience.

The Exordium makes the hearers attentive, well-disposed and submissive. It should have these qualities: propriety, modesty, attention and brevity. The different kinds of exordium are: simple, vehement or abrupt, insinuating and grand.

Narration is the explanation of the deed itself, of the circumstances of the means of knowledge. Narration should be employed in a fitting place and for the sake of illustrating and moving.

Proposition is that which the orator intends to demonstrate to his audience. It should be one, definite, important and apt.

The division, arises out of the various natures of the case, of the circumstances and conditions of the persons interested. It should be clear, distinct and suitable.

Argumentation is proving the truth or the falsity of a proposition and answering objections to your view of the question.

Arguments may be divided from their *purpose* into proving, illustrative and moving; from their *force* into *probable*, what is generally the case; *certain*, what is always true; from their subject matter into Intrinsic and Extrinsic.

Arguments according to form: *syllogism*, a form of argumentation consisting of three propositions, so related that if the first two be granted the third follows.

Epichireme — When proof is joined to major or minor or both.

Enthymeme — Orator's syllogism, when major or minor is omitted.

Dilemma — When the adversary has a choice of alternatives, either of which will confute him.

Sorites — A succession of propositions each of which is derived from the preceding until the conclusion is reached.

Induction — By which something doubtful is proved from its similiarity with that which has already been granted; from particular instances drawing a general principle.

Confirmation is either direct or indirect. Direct confirmation consists in giving direct positive proofs, why the predicate should be affirmed or denied of subject. It may be *a priori* from cause to effect; *a posteriori* from effect to cause, induction, example, analogy, testimony.

Indirect Confirmation — by showing the contrary or any other view of the question is untenable and absurd. Under this head are the following so-called arguments:

Argumentum ad hominem, argumentum ad verecundiam, argumentum ad invidiam, ridicule and *satire.*

Refutation — There are three ways of refuting: —

(1) By denying the affair itself, the proof, the consequences.

(2) By making a distinction.

(3) By retorting; we may also refute by charging the opposition with ignorance, etc., by laughing him to scorn.

Amplification — Speech adapted to moving the minds of men. Different kinds: of words, of circumstances, by accumulation, by comparison, by argumentation, by ratiocination. To move others we must ourselves be moved. Apostrophe is a powerful means. Amplification must be suited —

(1) To the nature and condition of the audience.

(2) Their present frame of mind.

Persuasion — Bend the will by the promise of happiness. Eloquence has three elements. *Ut veritas pateat,* by making the truth clear; *Ut veritas placeat,* presenting it in pleasing manner; *Ut veritas moveat,* passion made to go hand in hand with reason in urging the same suit upon the mind. To persuade, one must have a full knowledge of the subject, a logical mind, and a command of intelligible language.

Character of those addressed — Self-knowledge is the best way to know others. We may also become acquainted with the different passions by reading standard works. Aristotle has defined certain peculiarities of dif-

ferent ages and states of life, from a careful study of which we can derive great knowledge and insight into the motives that influence men to action.

Peroration — The close of the speech, presenting the arguments summed up, and the appeals to the feelings, in such a way as best to influence the hearers to adopt the method of action intended by the orator in his discourse.

QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE.

I. *On the Exordium.*

(1) Read the precepts in regard to the exordium, in Part I.

(2) Then take in Part II, the first exordium. Examine whether it is derived from the arguments or from circumstances of time, of place, of the orator or of the audience. Observe how the qualities of a good exordium are verified.

II. *On the Argumentation.*

(1) Read the precepts in Part I.

(2) Take the argumentation of one of the speeches in Part II. Condense it to a syllogism. What topic is it derived from?

(3) Take an argument from the synopsis of Milo's speech in Part III. Develop the argument. Compare it with Cicero's development of the same argument.

III. *On the Peroration.*

(1) Read the precepts concerning the peroration in Part I.

(2) Take a peroration in Part II. State which portion is accumulation or summing up of arguments, and which is amplification or appeal to feeling. Write a peroration in imitation of Webster's closing passage.

IV. (1) Copy an exordium, argument or peroration.

(2) Condense one of the three.

(3) Rewrite from the condensed form and compare development and diction with the original.

PART IV.

ILLUSTRIOUS ORATORS.

BRIEF MENTION.

For the use of the student there is subjoined a brief mention of some illustrious orators. Not all that have been illustrious are recorded, but many of the most prominent; and not at great length, but sufficiently to indicate who the orator was, the qualities of his style, and his chief work.

DEMOSTHENES.

Demosthenes, the greatest of all orators, was born in the year 384 B.C. His father died when he was but seven years of age. We read of other orators how it was only by their never ceasing labors that they attained great success; how hard must he have toiled, then, who was almost perfection itself.

We know of his perseverance in ridding himself of the impediment in his speech by declaiming with a pebble in his mouth, and surmounting the noise of the roaring waves on the seashore. With all the great orators it seems to have been a custom to write out or translate, some model of eloquence. It was no less the case with the greatest of orators, it is said of him that he wrote out the History of Thucydides eight times. His orations were all labored, and carefully finished; the "Oration on the Crown" is the grandest of all orations in the history of Oratory.

Demosthenes' style is now accepted as the type of all that is simple, direct and forcible. In his later speeches we find conversational passages, and popular idiom, mingled with dignified periods and artistic expression. He is very sparing in the use of metaphors, the only figure in a sentence is sometimes condensed into a single word. His is an art which conceals art. There is no apparent rhetorical effort, but the whole is marked by directness of purpose. Passion, emotion, narrative, exhortation, invective are involved in a continual stream

of argument. He strips away everything that is not absolutely essential to his purpose. A common word with him has an uncommon effect. His sentences and periods are sometimes very long but well woven together. One word from him was enough to rouse the Athenians. For thirteen long years the words of Demosthenes thundered out against the Macedonian monarch. He aroused the whole Athenian people to a consciousness of their impending misfortune. They awoke when it was too late to avert the calamity against which he had so often warned them. The power of his oratory may be best understood by what he effected.

Demosthenes was a man of high moral qualities; of great intellectual vigor; of obstinate perseverance, and undaunted courage. He was one of the most remarkable men in history.

ÆSCHINES.

Æschines, in the minds of people is oftenest associated with Demosthenes by reason of his prosecution in the case of "The Crown." This orator was born in the year 389 B.C. He was one of those who advocated the peace with Phillip, to whom he was once sent as an an ambassador. Accordingly Demosthenes attacked him. Æschines resented the charge and immediately began his famous prosecution against Ctesiphon. Then followed that immortal oration on the crown. Æschines was defeated and went into exile. After staying some years in Asia Minor, he opened a school of eloquence at Rhodes. From there he went to Samnos, where he spent the remainder of his life. He died in his seventy-fifth year.

The eloquence of Æschines was spontaneous. He had great familarity with the literature of his own country. His education was acquired on the stage. He stumbled, one day, and this so discouraged him that he had left the boards, but not without having acquired a magnificent voice, a splendid diction, and a pleasing manner. His speeches lack purity, finish, and rhythm. He was inartistic, but very powerful in his speaking. His oratory is second only to that of Demosthenes; he was a great orator but he lacked moral force; that was his chief drawback. His speeches are greater than him-

self, his words greater than his character; words worthy of a better cause and a better man.

CICERO.

Marcus Tullius Cicero was born in the year 106 B.C. at Arpinum in Italy. It was at the age of thirty-nine that he began to distinguish himself as a deliberative orator. When he attained to the consulship he was forty-three. It was then that the moral qualities of his character were the highest, and his genius shone forth with the greatest splendor. It was at this time that he delivered his famous oration against Catiline.

Cicero was always careful to lay out his oration, in accordance with the plan which he proposed in his rhetorical works. He pays greatest attention to the introductions containing the ethical proof; the body of the speech relating the facts and the arguments deduced from those facts; lastly the peroration, addressing itself to the moral sense of the judges.

These were the parts to which he paid most attention. His skill as an orator is best shown in "the proof." He accounts for everything naturally, and converts objections into a confirmation of his own argument. Then he emphasizes all this by amplification and exaggeration. He has not the force of Demosthenes, but has what an ancient critic ascribes to him, "the copiousness of Plato, and the sweetness of Isocrates." Strength and simplicity cannot be claimed for him, but no one will deny that he has copiousness, fulness and soundness of treatment; we may add, wealth and harmony of diction, solid and sententious argument, a brilliant and poetic imagination. He carried his audience more by persuasion than by conviction. He captivates his hearers, flatters their vanity, rouses their selfishness, and stirs up their hopes and fears. Cicero had also a great fund of wit, in which respect he differed from Demosthenes who, when he attempted to be facetious, made himself ridiculous. Cicero had also at his command, intense irony and sarcasm that never failed to be effective. Many faults have been attributed to the Roman orator; his copiousness sometimes runs to wordiness; the sound sometimes exceeds the sense; the style is too artificial; the speaker some-

times merely tries to display his verbal power, sacrificing everything to his vanity. However, his faults are more than outweighed by his excellences.

Cicero said "the perfect orator is the perfect man;" and there is no doubt that he tried to be a perfect man according to his own ideas. But his nature was decidedly weak. His constant aim was to do right, and his mistakes were those of the judgment rather than of the heart. His vanity and his desire to be popular with all men was his one great misfortune. But we can pardon many other faults in view of the eminence he attained in his art. Two magnificently planned orations are the one in "Defence of Milo," and the "Manilian Law." The "Pro Archias" is replete with the spirit of poetry, and the speeches against Cataline are models of invective.

LORD CHATHAM.

William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, was born in the year 1708. He received his education at Eton and at Oxford, and at the age of twenty-seven entered Parliament. His wonderful powers of oratory soon made him one of the foremost men of the Commons and the strongest and most feared antagonist of Walpole's administration. His hostility during these years won for him the lasting resentment of the King, so that, when Walpole was overthrown and the opposition came into power, though Pitt should have received a seat in the ministry on account of his excellence in the House, it was quite some time before the King could be induced to offer him even a subordinate position.

It was not until the year 1746 that he was made Paymaster of the Forces, and not until ten years had passed, did he become Prime Minister. He was at this time confessed to be the only man who could save England from the desperate situation into which the neglect of his predecessors had plunged her. It was not long however before he had won for her more than she had lost, and through him her name became known and respected in every quarter of the globe. The five years of his administration have been justly considered the most glorious in all her history.

For the following five years he remained out of office. After

his return in 1766 ill health prevented him from taking an active part in politics, and two years later he retired from office.

His most memorable speeches were those in which he denounced the folly which was driving the American colonies into war. In the year 1778, learning that a motion was to be made to grant the colonies their independence, he got up from his sick bed and delivered a strong and successful protest against the measure. At the close of the speech he fell into convulsions and had to be carried out. After a sickness of a few days he died on May 11, 1778.

CHATHAM'S SPEECH ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

The Occasion of the Speech — The assembling of Parliament for the purpose of sending an address to the throne, congratulating the King on the birth of a Princess.

Proposition — An amendment should be added to the address to the effect that a treaty of peace be commenced, to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England.

Syllogisms — (*a*) The British troops can accomplish anything but impossibilities.

But the conquest of British America is an impossibility,

∴ They cannot achieve the conquest of British America.

(*b*) The more you inflame the minds of your adversaries the more difficult will be the conquest.

But: To overrun their country with murderers and robbers stirs up their minds to an incurable resentment.

∴ The more mercenary aid the more difficult the conquest.

(*c*) Whatever is the violation of the Constitution and against the law is a stigma on the national character.

But: The use of savages to carry on the war is against the Constitution and the law.

∴ The use of savages is a stain on the national character.

(*d*) Those who struggle for their rights against arbitrary exactness should be admired because it is the struggle of free and virtuous patriots.

But: The Americans are struggling for their rights.

∴ The Americans ought to be admired.

WILLIAM PITT.

William Pitt, son of Lord Chatham, was born in 1769, and went to Cambridge at the age of fourteen in 1773. Burke said of him, "He was not a chip of the old block, but the old block himself."

From childhood Pitt had the ambition and desire to become an orator; he was a bright child and had many qualities which as a boy seemed to indicate his future calling.

He did not depend on his genius, like so many others but daily improved himself, always seeking for knowledge. Pitt was not like his father, who was of a fiery and tempestuous mode of mind, but he was cold and very formal, dignified and very logical. His sentences flowed forth in a grand and harmonious style, and were aided by a fine and resonant voice and dignified bearing. Chatham excelled in energy and picturesqueness; Pitt, his son, in logic and knowledge of politics and finance.

He was a master of sarcasm and used this double-edged sword, as it is, in a powerful manner. The chief secret of his success was his earnestness and his sincere manner. His sincerity was never doubted, he spoke from conviction and not through any proud motive of praise. His speaking stamped on the mind the image of his character as a man of honest, sincere, and just principles.

EDMUND BURKE, AND HIS SPEECH AT BRISTOL.

Edmund Burke was born in Dublin, Ireland, in January 1729 or 1730. The exact date of his birth is uncertain. His father, Richard Burke, was a distinguished attorney and a Protestant, but his mother, Miss Nagle, was a Roman Catholic. Edmund was instructed in the Protestant religion, and in 1741 was sent to a school in Kildare, kept by an Englishman, a member of the order of Friends, Abraham Shackleton. Between the pupil and the teacher there existed a warm friendship which lasted as long as life itself. Edmund remained with Mr. Shackleton until 1743 when he was sent to Trinity College, Dublin. Unlike his great contemporary Pitt, Burke, was not a prodigy, but a warm-hearted boy of apparently

average intellectual capacity. Here Burke met Oliver Goldsmith, and like him, achieved no great academic distinction. Cicero was his favorite Latin author and it was by faithfully and constantly studying the speeches of this great orator that Burke laid the groundwork of his after fame and success.

Having graduated at Trinity in 1748, Burke went to London and entered upon the study of law. As this profession did not suit him he soon abandoned it and devoted himself to literary labors. His first literary work of prominence was an essay entitled "A Vindication of Natural Society." This was a parody on the works of Lord Bolingbroke, who had maintained that natural religion is sufficient for a man and that he does not need revelation. In the same year appeared his second book entitled "An Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas on the Sublime and Beautiful." This book gained for its author a permanent and an honorable fame, and at the same time secured for him the friendship of Dr. Johnson and many other eminent men. In 1756 Burke married the daughter of a Dr. Nugent, a physician at Bath. Three years later he became the private secretary of William Gerard Hamilton, chief secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and through his influence obtained a pension of £300 a year, but seeing that his political independence would be compromised, he resigned his position at the end of a year.

Burke's political career dates from the year 1765, when he became private secretary to Lord Rockingham, the prime minister of the Whigs. A little later he was returned to Parliament as a member for Wendover, and took his seat in time to participate in the debates preceding the repeal of the Stamp Act. Speaking of Burke's speeches at this crisis, a writer in the "London Quarterly Review," says, "This was the appropriate start of a man who, whether as a statesman, a thinker, or an orator, was without an equal." Pitt and Fox were great but Burke belongs to another order of being, and ranks with the Shakespeares, the Bacons and the Newtons. By the incessant practice of composition he learned to embody his conclusions in a style more grandly beautiful than has ever been reached by any other Englishman with either the tongue or the pen.

Burke sat as a member of Parliament for Wendover until 1774, when he became a member for Bristol. On the 22d of March, 1775 he delivered that masterly oration on the "Conciliation of the Colonies." Speaking of this speech Fox says, "Let gentlemen read this speech by day and meditate upon it by night; they would learn that representation was the sovereign remedy for every evil."

In 1778, Burke delivered his grandest speech on the occasion of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of India. When Hastings was acquitted in 1794, Burke retired from the political world. In recognition of his services the King was about to make him a peer, and the patent was being made ready when Burke's only son, Richard, died. The father's grief was agonizing and inconsolable. "The storm has gone over me," he said, "and I lie like one of those old oaks, which the late hurricane has scattered about me. I am stripped of all my honors, I am torn up by the roots and lie prostrate, I am alone." Burke never survived the death of his son, and three years later in 1797, he was himself sleeping the "sleep that knows no waking."

Justly may we say with Schlegel in speaking of Burke; "This man has been to his own country and to all Europe a new light of political wisdom and moral experience. He corrected his age when it was at its height of revolutionary frenzy; and without maintaining any system of philosophy, he seems to have seen farther into the true nature of society, and to have more clearly comprehended the effect of religion in connecting individual security with national welfare, than any philosopher of any preceding age."

THE SPEECH AT BRISTOL.

In a brief exordium the orator declares how pleased he is to see such a large concourse of people, for the object of his speech requires the presence of a large audience.

Before proceeding to give an account of his six years' representation in behalf of the citizens of Bristol, Burke first explains the grounds on which a member's conduct should be judged. Has he sacrificed their interests in the pursuit of

wealth, honor or ambition? Has he neglected to seek their welfare through sloth or any other motives? If so, condemn him. But do not find fault with him if he has committed a few slight errors, for no man is perfect, nor censure him if he has not always followed your instructions, for then he would be a slave not a man. The four charges brought against Burke are now answered in turn. Burke refutes the first charge, namely, his neglect of due attention to his constituents, by showing that he lived at too great a distance from Bristol to visit them, and secondly, that he promoted their welfare more by working for them in Parliament, than by frequently visiting them and making speeches. He accuses them, in turn, of infidelity towards him, for while he was working in their behalf, they were secretly plotting to deprive him of his seat and substitute another. Then, again, in differing with them on the American question, he could not with propriety visit them in their joy when victory was obtained, or in their sorrow when the Americans had conquered.

In answer to the second charge, his conduct on the affairs of the First Irish Trade Acts, the orator gives his reasons for not having agreed with his constituents. From the condition of the country at the time, he foresaw what would be the consequences if the bill was defeated, but they did not. Therefore, he voted for it and in doing so, acted only for their best interests.

In refuting the third charge, namely, his mode of proceeding on Lord Beauchamp's Debtors' Bills, the orator proves that he did not treat with contempt the petition of the city, but it was by his acting with respect to them that the Bill was defeated. He supported the Bill, because the laws of humanity commanded him.

CHARLES J. FOX.

If sincerity and deep feeling are the test of an orator surely Fox was one of the greatest orators of England. His style of speaking, however, was peculiar, his gestures were vehement and hurried, his speech jerky and halting.

He was educated at Eton and Oxford, where he acquired a great desire for mathematics and literature. One of his bad

habits and his chief failing was an enormous passion for the gaming table. When once asked his greatest happiness in life he said "to play and to win." When asked his next greatest he replied "to play and to lose."

Few orators have gained his excellence with so few gifts. When he addressed an audience, he spoke as if in a passion, his gestures were numerous, his voice was husky, he always looked slovenly and lazy and often so impressed those hearing him for the first time. He afterwards improved and became one of the greatest orators of Great Britain.

His strong point was to present his opponent's arguments more strongly even that the adversary had done, and then tear them to pieces. His most finished speech was the "Westminster Scrutiny," and the ablest the "Rejection of Bonaparte's Overtures."

LORD MANSFIELD.

William Murray, Earl of Mansfield, was born at Scone, in Perthshire on the 2d of March, 1705. From his earliest youth, he evinced signs of future greatness. He was a remarkable lad, with a wisdom beyond his years. Although the son of a great lord, Murray clearly saw that he would have to depend upon himself in the future and he set himself to work with an ardor and a zest that astonished both his professors and his friends. Besides the regular lessons, he mapped out for himself a more liberal course of study. Especially in history his readings were extensive, and in after life he confessed that there was not one of Cicero's orations which he had not translated into English, and, after an interval, according to the best of his ability, retranslated into Latin. His youth was spent in pure intellectual drudgery. Besides, he practiced extemporaneous speaking, and took notes that were afterwards serviceable to him in Parliament and at the bar.

When he became a lawyer, in 1730, he made himself acquainted not only with the international law, but with the codes of all the civilized nations, both ancient and modern. After great fame in legal practice, he became chief justice on the King's Bench, with the title of Baron Mansfield. Murray's

ancestors were all High Tories, and it was natural that he should follow the traditional beliefs. So when he entered Parliament, he sided with the King, and was the defender of royal prerogatives; and advocated the right of Parliament to tax America, while Pitt, his opponent and a Whig, arrayed all his powers against that right. It was here that Mansfield gained success as an orator, and an orator he certainly was, if it is the property of the orator to convince. No man did more to strengthen the cause of the mother country against her colonies. Pitt's eloquence was overmastering and his power was over the masses. Murray's power was over the thoughtful few, who in the end directed the reins of government.

Mansfield's was essentially a legal intellect. He always stated his case clearly and to the point, and in this respect he was like Lincoln. One of his speeches has come down to us, and it is certainly a masterpiece of plausible argumentation. In the beginning of it he says: —

"I shall speak to the question as a matter of right; to the distinctions which have been taken, as to the nature of the tax; I shall point lastly to the necessity of exerting the force of the superior authority of the government, if opposed by the subordinate part of it." That was his course, and he adhered to it throughout the speech.

In Mansfield's oratory there was nothing lofty and sublime; he assumed a tone of dignified conversation. The speech was logical, clear and concise. In the beginning he stripped away all irrelevant matter, and confined himself to the matter under consideration. He seized upon one or two points, and kept them so continually before his hearers, that by degrees he led them on to his own conclusions. He was a debater in the true sense of the word. In all his speeches the display of learning is astounding. He was a scholar, cool, circumspect, thoughtful. Throughout his life he was incorruptible, and his character was not only above reproach, but was remarkable for its stern rejection of everything that tended to turn him aside from duty.

ERSKINE.

Lord Erskine was born in Scotland in 1750. In 1778 he was called to the bar, and five years later he entered Parliament through the influence of Fox.

He was a man of commanding presence; his eloquence was fiery and vigorous yet dignified withal. He thoroughly understood human nature, had a remarkable memory, and wonderful presence of mind.

His argumentative powers were of the highest order. In intellectual ability, in imagination, and in execution, Lord Erskine was unsurpassed and hardly equalled.

BOLINGBROKE.

Bolingbroke was the first prominent orator which England had. She had many debaters, and great ones at that, but Bolingbroke was the first prominent orator.

This man was endowed with nearly all the qualities of an excellent political orator. He was a tall prepossessing man, with a clear and twinkling eye and always a winning smile for someone. He had a rich and impressive voice, a clear, flowing, ornate and elegant style, not without a little spark of wit and humor.

He entered Parliament when he was twenty-two years old and won the name of being one of the most brilliant, attractive and forcible speakers of the time. He was greatly noted for his sublime and tremendous periodical climaxes, which he would proclaim in such a very modulated and flowing voice that the effect produced on an audience was something marvellous. He believed in the slow and forcible method of speaking, believing "a slow speech confirmeth the memory."

BROUGHAM.

Lord Brougham's oratory was fervid and soul-stirring. He was what is popularly termed a mob orator, having at times had thousands standing before him. Brougham strove to annihilate his opponent; tartness, flippancy and sarcasm were to him, he thought, lawful weapons. He was quick to perceive a weakness in an argument, and fierce and relentless in follow-

ing up his advantage. His speeches are of a high order in point of style and literary execution.

He believed in polishing a speech until it could be no longer polished to advantage. His delivery was grand and rousing. He was a profound and scientific political philosopher.

HENRY GRATTAN.

Foremost among the many brilliant and excellent orators whom Ireland has produced stands the name of Henry Grattan. From his earliest youth Grattan conceived a violent love for oratory, and on hearing one of Chatham's eloquent speeches he resolved, cost what it might, to become a distinguished speaker.

Although he had many difficulties to overcome, being short of stature, unprepossessing in appearance, gifted with but a slight vein of humor and pathos, grotesque in gestures and drawling and unmelodious in his manner of speaking, yet by constant practice, and incessant toil, he at last reached the goal of his ambition. As a mere debater Grattan was the inferior of many of his contemporaries, but for terseness and nervousness of style, for arousing the passions and enkindling the enthusiasm of an educated audience, for vividness, clearness, and beauty of expression, he concedes the palm to no one.

Grattan did not lead his hearers through a long and subtle course of reasoning before the truth of his arguments could be seen, but in a few well-chosen words he flashed the truth in all its brilliancy before their eyes. For biting sarcasm, for crushing invective, and for clear concentrated argument Grattan is unequalled. His principal faults were, his occasional incongruity of metaphor, and his excess of epigram and antithesis.

Sometimes, though rarely, he was obscure, and on this account and for his force and brilliancy, his eloquence has been characterized as "a combination of cloud, whirlwind and flame."

RICHARD LALOR SHEIL.

Richard Lalor Sheil unquestionably ranks as one of the best orators in the House of Commons. Although he was far from being a ready extempore debater, yet his prepared speeches al-

ways held his hearers enchanted and won for him even the applause of his adversaries. As an orator, Sheil labored under many disadvantages, being short in stature, negligent in attire, with a shrill voice. He was very vehement in gesticulation, but when once he spoke, so readily did he captivate his audience and enchain their attention that all these faults were forgotten.

To describe the character of Sheil's rhetoric we may aptly say in the style of his own metaphors "he thinks lightning." Sheil belonged to the old school of rhetoricians who considered style of more importance than facts, and who paid more attention to the manner, than to the matter of their discourse.

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN.

Although there are many critics who maintain that Sheridan was not an orator, still, if we consider on what grounds an orator should be judged, I think it will readily appear that Sheridan was an orator, for he could persuade, instruct, and sway his audience any way he pleased. Gifted with a pleasant and powerful voice, and possessing a pleasing appearance and a thorough knowledge of human nature, Sheridan exercised a wonderful influence over his hearers.

As a proof of this power, one has only to consider the effect of his speech on the impeachment of Warren Hastings, when the House deemed it necessary to adjourn to give the astonished audience time "to collect its reason," so powerfully had his oratory affected them.

Although Sheridan was not a profound thinker, nor an acute reasoner, yet his good sense and wit always won the day. Nothing could ever ruffle his temper, but he often made his adversaries wince under his raillery. Sheridan always devoted much care and attention to his speeches, and although he ever wished to be known as a careless and indolent fellow, yet many a morning when he was supposed to be in bed, he was busily engaged upon jokes and witticisms which he would afterwards use with great effect in his speeches.

Although these witticisms were always thought to have sprung up from the subject under discussion, yet this was not the case, for they were the products of much labor and toil.

Sheridan's speeches abounded in antithesis, apostrophes and rhetorical exaggerations. His manner of delivery was in keeping with the style of his speeches, being theatrical and full of life and energy. Finally, no more fitting words could be found to express the character and uniqueness of Sheridan than those of Byron,

"Nature formed but one such man,
And broke the die in making Sheridan."

JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN.

John Philpot Curran was born at New Market, in the county of Cork, on the 24th of July, 1750. He was a member of the bar and had a seat in Parliament.

His oratory was resplendent with wit; copious, ornate and rapid; his delivery was stirring and electrifying; his imagination marvelous; the passions were under his absolute command.

Although deformed and having a defect in his speech, by untiring labor and perseverance he made himself one of the first orators of Ireland.

CANNING.

Canning was born in poverty and educated by his uncle. He was one of the accomplished scholars of his day. His capacity for the discussion of abstract subjects, and his genius for adorning those that were the least attractive, of all his powers of argumentation, was the most brilliant and the most happy.

His declamation was powerful and beautifully ornate, but lacking in sincerity. He was never carried away by his passions and he never carried his audience along with him.

He became prime minister of England.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

Daniel Webster, eminent both for the services he rendered his country as a statesman, and for his surpassing skill as an orator, was born in Salisbury, N. H., January 18, 1782. His father had served as a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and later became a member of the State legislature, and then a judge of the county court.

Daniel was the youngest son, and, being a delicate lad, his father resolved to make sacrifices for him and give him opportunities of advancement, which, because of limited means, could be ill afforded. Accordingly, at the age of fourteen he was sent to Phillips Exeter Academy, where, though subject to much ridicule because of his rustic manners, he nevertheless made rapid progress. In 1797, he entered Dartmouth College, and came to be looked on as the best general scholar in the college. He was especially attracted to public speaking and developed ability in the art, to such an extent that in 1800 he was called upon by the citizens of Hanover to deliver the Fourth of July oration there. This was Daniel's first speech, and though crude in many respects, yet it gave promise of his future greatness.

After being graduated in 1801, he took up the study of law, which he relinquished to teach in a small academy, in order that his elder brother might obtain a college education. He returned to law, and in 1805 was admitted to the bar at Boston. In 1807 he removed to Portsmouth, the capital of the State, where he soon distinguished himself.

In 1812 he was elected to Congress. His first great speech was delivered during his first term in office — a speech in opposition to the encouragement of enlistments. In 1814 he was re-elected to Congress, and at the expiration of his term, he resumed his law practice at Boston.

He gained considerable renown for his work on the Dartmouth College case, which had much to do with limiting state sovereignty and extending the jurisdiction of the Federal Court. On December 22, 1820, he delivered his speech on the "First Settlement of New England." In 1822 he was again elected to Congress, and in 1827, he accepted a seat in the Senate, where he remained till 1841. His oration on the laying of the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument was delivered in 1825. The one on Adams and Jefferson was delivered in 1826. Both are remarkable specimens of the orator's art. His speech at the trial of Knapp is regarded as a masterpiece in the use of circumstantial evidence. In 1830 he delivered what is considered his best speech, the "Reply to Hayne."

In 1841 he was appointed secretary of state and in 1848 and in 1852 he was an unsuccessful candidate for President. His last great speech — on the slavery question — was delivered in 1850. He died at Marshfield, Mass., on October 24, 1852.

HENRY CLAY.

Henry Clay was born in Hanover County, Virginia, a district known as the "slashes," in 1777. His father was a Baptist clergyman, and died when Henry was but four years old, leaving no fortune. Henry received some elementary instruction in a log schoolhouse, doing farm and house work when not at school. His mother married again and removed to Kentucky. At fourteen he was placed in a small retail store at Richmond, and in 1792 obtained a place in the office of Peter Piersley, clerk of the high court of Chancery. There he attracted the attention of Chancellor Wythe, who employed him as an amanuensis and directed his course of reading. During his residence in Richmond he made the acquaintance of several distinguished men of Virginia, and became the leader of a debating club. He was popular from the start because of his captivating manners and striking eloquence. In 1799 he married Lucretia Hart, a daughter of a prominent Kentuckian. In 1803 he was elected to a seat in the State legislature, where he excelled as a debater. In the winter of 1806 he was elected to a seat in the United States Senate and at once became prominent. He opposed the renewal of the charter of the United States bank on the ground of the unconstitutionality of the bank, and did much to defeat the charter. When he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1811, the difficulties caused by British interference with neutral trade were then approaching a crisis. He expected that the war with Great Britain would be decided by an easy conquest of Canada and a peace dictated at Quebec, and by his influence and under his leadership, war was declared against Great Britain in 1812. Some of his speeches were of a high order of eloquence, and electrified his countrymen. He was reëlected speaker of the House in 1813. On January 19, 1814, he resigned the speakership, being appointed by President Madison a member of a

commission consisting of Adams, Bayard, Clay, Russell and Galatin to negotiate peace with England. He favored the enactment of the protective tariff of 1816, and also advocated the establishment of a United States bank, thus reversing his position with regard to that subject.

Clay wished to be the whig candidate for President in 1840, but failed, and Harrison was nominated. He was very much dejected over his defeat, but supported Harrison, making many speeches in the log cabin and hard cider campaign. Clay made a speech at Lexington, Kentucky, warning the American people of the dangers that would follow if they gave themselves up to the ambition of conquest.

He was unquestionably one of the greatest orators America ever produced, a man of incorruptible personal integrity, of great natural ability, but little study, of free and convivial habits, of singularly winning address and manners. He had in his last hours the satisfaction of seeing his last great work, the compromise of 1850, accepted as a final settlement of the slavery question by the National conventions of both parties. He died at Washington, D. C., on the 29th of June, 1852, at the age of about seventy-five years, and is buried at Lexington, Kentucky.

JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.

John C. Calhoun was born in Calhoun settlement, Abbeville, South Carolina, March 18, 1782. From his very boyhood he showed signs of the intellectual abilities that characterize an orator; he was ever grave, thoughtful, ardent and persevering in everything he undertook to perform.

After some years John's father died, and although leaving his family in moderate circumstances, John still continued laboring on their farm as he had done heretofore: notwithstanding the fact that he was most anxious for a thorough education, he determined not to obtain it till sure of the means without impairing his mother's comfort.

Year after year the family was increasing in its financial standing. John was now nineteen years old, and seeing that the circumstances of the family would allow him to enter upon the study of law, for he was well up in all other branches of

learning, having studied hard and diligently in private at home, he thought he was competent enough to commence that study. After much consideration on the matter, he resolved to enter the private academy of his brother-in-law, Dr. Waddle, a Presbyterian clergyman. After two years training under this gentleman he joined the junior class at Yale ; this was in the year 1802. Two years later he graduated with the highest honors.

In addition to the regular course of studies he pursued, he always paid particular attention to the cultivation of his talent for extempore speaking, and he certainly reaped great benefit from it. The president of Yale College in 1804, the year of Calhoun's graduation, remarked, after a long discussion with him on the origin of political power, "That John Calhoun has enough talent to be President of the United States."

Soon after all his studies were completed he entered upon the political field in which he played a most prominent part. His talents gained for him the honor of being chosen a member of the state legislature, and in 1811 of being elected to congress.

Mr. Calhoun's speech on the slavery question is one worthy of mention. It abounds with exemplifications of the different kinds of oratory of which he was master. In this speech he declared that the agitation of the slavery question would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measures, end in disunion. He puts this question to the senators, "How can the Union be preserved?" To answer this, he says, "that they must be thoroughly acquainted with the nature and character of the cause by which the Union is endangered.

He goes on to show the many causes that endangered the Union, their nature and character. He now shows them by what means the Union may be saved, the one way by which it can be preserved with certainty, and that is by a full and final settlement on the principles of justice, of all the questions at issue between the two sections. The South asks for simple justice, and less she ought not to take.

PATRICK HENRY.

What recollections does not that name recall! Think of the young orator and there comes up before our minds that hard-

fought struggle for independence, and all that it entailed. The people are divided into two factions, the one composed of land-holders, who stand aghast at the idea of parting from the mother country; the other of patriots, loyal, yearning to break the bond that binds them to a tyrannical and arbitrary government. The people fight among themselves; factions threaten to destroy the state; in the midst of it all arises a young man, his eloquence vivid and startling; he breaks down all opposition, and by his passionate appeals, converts it into a bitter and undying hatred for the oppressor. A wonderful eloquence is this? The utterance of a born orator. It amounts almost to inspiration.

Very interesting is the life of this young man. He was brought up in Studley, Hanover County, Virginia. At the age of fifteen he entered a country store as a clerk, and the next year entered into partnership with his brother. But the enterprise proved a failure, and poverty stared him in the face. Then came one of his wild adventures. After a preparation of six weeks, he was called to the bar, but only on condition that he would apply himself to further study. We may know from this how deficient in law he really was.

In fact he knew very little of anything. The only author with which he was well acquainted, at the time, was Livy. This book he read through once every year. A smattering of the classics, and a little mathematics constituted his whole education. When he entered on his profession, there was naturally but little hope of his success.

In the Parson's case, he was retained as a mere form; but here he made a famous argument, and gained signal success. From that time on, there was no lack of business. This victory seemed to encourage him, for he worked hard, and became one of the most eminent lawyers of the time. At this time, no legal light would absent himself from the assembly; accordingly, Henry entered the House of Burgesses, just when England was attempting to enforce her odious stamp act.

It was a loyal, conservative body, loyal to the king, spurning all attempts, on the part of the colonies, at separation. Henry was only a young man, twenty-nine years of age, yet his pleadings

were so passionate and his eloquence so burning that they could not withstand him, and a decided victory was gained for the colonies. This was in 1765. In the years 1776, 1777, 1778, he was the Republican governor of Virginia. He died in 1799.

Patrick Henry was called "the orator of nature" and such he truly was. His eloquence was not due in any way to his education, it was simple, straightforward; it came from a heart filled with emotion and passion, indeed, it was the thought that always claimed the attention of the hearer: the words were simple; but the ideas were startling. He made frequent use of apostrophe. Once, while speaking in the Virginia assembly against the constitution framed in the Philadelphia convention, the orator, peering beyond the wall which shuts in mortal sight, made such an appeal to the celestial beings hovering near the scene, that the audience shuddered with supernatural horror.

He always had complete control over his audience. He had wonderful play of countenance; and a remarkable delivery. There was an intense earnestness in everything he said, and his probity of character added weight to every word. Altogether he was a very great man; but his greatness was not more than his goodness.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

This great orator was born in the city of Boston on November 29, 1811. He entered Harvard and graduated in 1831. Two years later he graduated from the Cambridge Law School and commenced to practice law. When he was thirty-six years of age, he joined the Abolitionists and was an ardent enthusiast. He was one of the most polished, forcible and eloquent orators of American history. In 1837 he addressed a vast assembly in Faneuil Hall. He wrote many papers for the "Liberator," an anti-slavery paper edited by William Lloyd Garrison. He was one of the organizers of the Liberty Party and the Anti-Slavery Society. The president was William Lloyd Garrison, whom Phillips succeeded. He held this honorable position until the society was dissolved on April 9, 1870. He gave up his law practice and decided never to vote, because he

thought that the Constitution was simply a union of Freedom and Slavery; thus he would not take the oath. Dr. Channing, speaking of Wendell Phillips said, "He is morally sublime." Whilst making an address with Garrison at one time, he barely escaped alive. The people, incensed at his anti-slavery demonstration, dragged both out in the street. They had put a rope around Garrison's neck, but this shameful disgrace ended at that. They were both rescued. Wendell Phillips was a very polished and conscientious orator; he was exceedingly sincere. Many of his speeches were about slavery. One very polished bit of his oratory is now spoken often in elocution contests. It is an exaggerated piece, namely, "Toussaint L'Ouverture."

Some of his speeches are: "A Eulogy at the Funeral of William Lloyd Garrison;" "The Scholar in the Republic," an address at the Centennial anniversary of the O. B. K. Society of Harvard College, June 30, 1881. He made many speeches on the labor question.

He also gave two great lectures, one on "The Lost Arts," the other on "Daniel O'Connell, the Irish Patriot," which is considered one of his masterpieces. Wendell Phillips died in the year 1884.

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON "DANIEL O'CONNELL."

This address was made on the one hundredth anniversary of O'Connell's birth.

He directly speaks of his statesmanship. He then alludes to Toussaint L'Ouverture and Napoleon. How to judge of O'Connell's works. "Judge him as among men, who, without *arms*, by force of reason have revolutionized their times." The measure of his success. He contrasts his achievements with those of all the great men of Ireland. What Ireland's condition was when they died and what Ireland's condition is now, after O'Connell's fifty years devotion to the Irish cause. Russell and Gladstone are but filling out the ideas of Grattan and O'Connell. England's tragic position. Ireland ready to stab her in the back. He pictures the distress of Ireland and the policy of O'Connell, and disposes of Brougham's statement that O'Connell was a demagogue. He compares his legacy

with that of Robespierre, citing what he did for Ireland; made her a nation, gave her British citizenship, a place in Parliament a press and a public. He then compares Lord Bacon's words, and paraphrases them for O'Connell. He achieved his success by bloodless measures. Phillips then sounds his praises as the first great agitator. O'Connell was all alone. The clergy and English Catholics counselled moderation. His plainness of speech. He was not coarse or violent. His patience was a remarkable gift. He taught the Irish people from 1800 to 1820, before he did anything decisive. He controlled them so well that not a drop of blood was spilled. Then he passes from his brave record to his anti-slavery sentiments. He tells of an incident where some members of Parliament offered him twenty-seven votes, to give up the slavery question. But he conquered the temptation. His religious toleration. His oratory. He was our Demosthenes. Not even Webster, Everett, Choate or Calhoun ever excelled him. "Webster could awe a senate, Everett could charm a college, Choate cheat a jury, Clay could magnetize the million and Horwin lead them captive. O'Connell was Clay, Horwin, Choate, Everett and Webster, all in one." He was a *man* behind a speech. His courage during all his trials. He met every question frankly and concealed none of his convictions. His control over the people is compared with the lack of control, by any power, over the anti-abolitionist mobs in America, and the lack of control over the people, in England, when the Reform Bill was thrown out.

He then concludes and says that Daniel O'Connell was the greatest man that the Irish race ever produced.

ST. BASIL THE GREAT.

St. Basil the Great was born in the year 329 A. D. at Cæsarea in Cappadocia. By nature he was gifted with superior abilities for eloquence, and these from his youth he labored studiously to bring to a high degree of perfection. He was, while very young, considered above the best masters of eloquence in his own country, and in consequence, journeyed to Constantinople to attach himself to the famous school of Libarius; this man was also the preceptor of St. Chrysostom.

After a brief period, having thoroughly mastered the learning of that celebrated rhetorician, he went to Athens; here he chanced to meet Gregory Nazianzen, his chief rival in literature and oratory, and both by mutual agreement trod the stony path of rhetorical knowledge together. The two strove to imitate the industry of Thucydides and Demosthenes. Together they read the best orators, critically and with astonishing attention, reading them again and again, to master fully all that was to be learned. On meeting a beautiful passage, they carefully revised it, compared their opinions, and strove to imitate the author, aiming at the minutest detail and accuracy. Nazianzen was prone to a flowery style, while Basil cultivated a chaste style. Basil was plain, clear and entirely unaffected. He seldom used figures, was smooth and eloquent in his diction, natural to that degree that one immediately began to look for the signs of the art for which he was celebrated. The art was there but artistically concealed; as a critic has said "he used nature's own language."

St. Basil and St. Gregory sought to acquire a manly, natural and graceful style of elocution, the supreme test of an accomplished orator; by the constant practice of declamation they acquired perfect action in speaking, that distinguishing attribute of Cicero, which Demosthenes declared was everything to the public speaker.

By their genius and their incredible industry, these two saints are ranked among the most accomplished orators the world ever produced.

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

John, surnamed Chrysostom, or Golden Mouth, because of his eloquence, was born at Antioch, A. D. 347. A great man, renowned as an orator, venerated as a saint; moderate in prosperity, hopeful in adversity, sublime in life, immortal in death. His father, Secundus, was an important army officer; his mother, Anthusa, remarkable for virtue, good sense, and a love of quietude, planted in his heart the seeds of the Catholic religion.

Eloquence was considered the highest accomplishment, and

the best means to raise a man in the state. John studied the art under Libarius, the most famous orator of the age; and such was his excellence that even while very young he surpassed his professors.

Libarius said he was the most fitted to succeed him in his school, were he not a Christian.

Realizing gradually his high calling, and deserting public life, he betook himself to Meletius, Bishop of Antioch. He began studiously to read the Holy Scriptures, from whence he drew his greatest inspirations. On the death of his mother, he went to the mountains of Syria, where he remained for four years under the guidance of a hermit; he left the hermit and lived alone in a cave for a space of two years, meditating and praying incessantly; he is said to have learned the Scriptures by heart. His health at length failing, he returned to Antioch. During his hermitage, he wrote "A Defence of the Monastic Life," "Consolations," "Treatises on Compunction of Heart," all masterpieces.

Like Demosthenes he had nurtured his strength in solitude, he had meditated over Scripture, and had forged his oratorical weapons from it. He preached first at Antioch; and offered in public the first fruits of his eloquence to God. For twelve years he continued preaching, preaching all Lent, every Sunday, several days in the week, and often several times in the day.

He knew, besides, the worth of silence, and seemed ever to be communing with God. He was taciturn in society, listening to the words of the wise and to the ramblings of the foolish with marked patience. He was ever solicitous for the poor, repressed vice and changed the customs of the city.

The See of Constantinople being vacant, the Emperor decided on John to fill it. This was accomplished; but John was exiled later from his favorite people. His farewell sermon was most affecting and left a deep impression on his hearers.

His writings are a treasury of ecclesiastical knowledge and eloquence. Some of his sermons he composed with care; others were extempore, but alike excellent, emanating, from such a fountain of knowledge. His congregations often burst

into tremendous applause. He would then say, "only prove your approbation by your works, that is sufficient." Gibbons says of him, "His was a free command of an eloquent language, and judgment to conceal the advantages he had derived from the study of rhetoric and philosophy."

His supply of metaphors, similitudes, ideas, and images was inexhaustible. He had a marvelous delivery and very attractive; he was full of spirit, logical, strong, and his eloquence was more ornate than that of Demosthenes.

A light forever will he be in the constellations of eloquence, and as a sun in the catalogue of saints.

ST. AMBROSE.

St Ambrose, a son of Ambrose, the prefect of the prætorium in Gaul, was born about the year 340 A.D. He mastered the Greek and Latin languages, was a poet and orator, a successful lawyer, and governor of Liguria and Æmilia. Auxemius, an Arian, who had usurped the See of Milan, holding it for twenty years, died in 374. The city was in an uproar concerning the election of a new bishop.

To prevent disruption Ambrose, as governor, went to the election place; he made an oration, using discretion and mildness, exhorting the people to peaceful measures; in the middle of his speech the cry was raised "Ambrose, bishop!" The whole assemblage took it up, and both Catholics and Arians unanimously elected him bishop of Milan.

He was confirmed bishop December 7, 374, when he was thirty-four years of age. Ambrose studied carefully the Scriptures and ecclesiastical writers, in order to combat the Arian heresy. St. Augustine, when teaching rhetoric at Milan, often attended the sermons of Ambrose, and declared his delivery good and his matter solid.

St. Ambrose taught his people constantly, offering the sacrifice daily for them, and fasting frequently; he purged Milan of the Arian heresy. He never attended banquets, fearing the vice of intemperance, and had a frugal table in his own house. He lays down as rules for oratory that there should be a chaste, simple, clear style, not too heavy with eloquence nor

yet despising the smoothness and grace of language. His own lectures, faulty perhaps at times, are still uncommonly strong and natural.

His style is noble, sublime, brief, and bristles with genuine wit; it throws forth a pleasing odor of sweetness and of smoothness. Some of his letters to the emperor are masterpieces, and exhibit a marvellous acquaintance with the world and its ways.

ST. AUGUSTINE.

With the name of St. Augustine there is connected everything sublime in intellect, profound in knowledge, and venerated in sanctity. A great doctor of the Church in his manhood; a great sinner in his youth; a learned man before he was twenty. He established a school of rhetoric at Sagaste.

He went from thence to Carthage, teaching eloquence and winning the praise of the educated in public debates. He gained besides, the chief prizes in the theatre for oratory and poetry. Leaving Carthage he went to Rome. The scholars of that city attended his school and were amazed at his knowledge and abilities, sweetened by his amiable temperament. The Emperor Valentinian invited him to Milan, and received him with great honor. Augustine became acquainted with St. Ambrose and immediately grew to esteem him highly; the learned rhetorician attended the sermons of the Saint to see if the archbishop really deserved the reputation he enjoyed as an orator. In this way were sown the seeds which led to Augustine's conversion. He was baptized in the year 387, A.D.

He then went to Rome and again to Carthage. For three years he fasted and prayed unceasingly, striving to please God, and to lead others to do so by his discourses and teachings. He was appointed and ordained bishop. St. Augustine was complete master of the laws of eloquence. In his instructions to sacred orators he says they should speak so as to be clearly understood, to be heard with pleasure, and to be obeyed. He says that a discourse must be natural and simple, no art should appear, but dignity must not be wanting. He speaks of three kinds of speaking; *submissively* in a plain, simple, familiar style, to instruct; *mildly*, in a soft, engaging, insinuating

manner, to please and bring people to love truth ; in a *lofty, vehement* style, to persuade and to secure obedience ; this solemn kind he says should rather be filled with pathetic emotions than with embellishments.

Two instances are related to show the powerful magnetism of his pathetic appeals and eloquence to the people. The custom of celebrating, by great intemperance, church festivals, etc., was observed by the people at Hippo. St. Augustine read to them the strongest passages of the Prophets, exhorted them by the Cross of Christ, by the blood of Christ, to act as Christians ; to show some regard for their bishop who had instructed him to teach them the truth.

He says himself, "After we had wept together I began to hope for their amendment." In another part of his see, the people at certain intervals, gathered and divided into parties, to fight one against the other for days.

St. Augustine besought them by the most pathetic recitals and expressions to give up their barbarous habit. For a time he merely amused but gradually they were touched, they wept and obeyed his instructions. In both cases the practices were permanently wiped out.

Such triumphs as these are the test of the pulpit orator ; the results were real, solid, and lasting, showering greater praise on the orator than the plaudits twenty public speakers might receive.

BOSSUET.

Bossuet, the first of the illustrious group of French orators, no less in order of time than in order of excellence, was born in the year 1627. At an early age he gained admission to a Jesuit college in his native country, and at this institution remained an earnest student for ten years. During this period of his education, his efforts were mainly directed to the study of the first masters in the art of eloquence, which had already gained a hold upon his heart and presented manifold attractions to his mind : and with such success were they attended that he rapidly advanced in proficiency and soon came to be regarded as a future orator of great ability.

It was not long after his departure from the college, that he

donned the priestly garb, in which guise he attained to that eminence, which has established his memory firmly in the minds of men of later generations.

The oratory of Bossuet knew three distinct phases ; the first of which was marked by extreme detail in the treatment of the subject, the second by pathos in the narration and power of diction the third by increased symmetry of construction, and propriety of arrangement. In point of merit the last is the least, and the first the most praiseworthy. The speaker draws largely upon Holy Writ and sacred writings for means of rousing the emotions and principally depends upon the early classic writers for smoothness of style, and grace of finish.

The orator himself is no less deserving of admiration than his oratory is of praise. Living though he did at a time when the king's will was supreme, he still recognized his conscience as his only guide, never stooped to flattery and never catered to the popular passions. He aimed especially at edification, consistency and truth, and seldom failed to reach his mark.

BOURDALOUE.

Bourdaloue, the successor of Bossuet in the pulpit, was no less honest and conscientious than the latter in his aim and in speech. The style of his oratory, however, differed widely from that of his predecessor. He placed sole reliance on the force of argument, disdaining to disguise his thoughts in the various garbs of rhetoric : he looked especially to the soundness of reasoning and suited his language entirely to the purpose before his mind : and it was his habit on different occasions to express his intention to instruct, which declaration, far from prejudicing the audience against him, served rather to increase his popularity by its direct address to the popular taste.

MASSILLON.

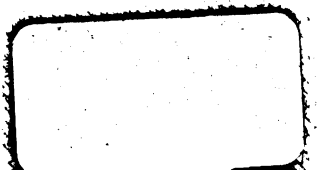
In Massillon the diversity in the kinds of oratory is again aptly manifested. Eloquence he possessed in quite as great a degree as Bossuet and Bourdaloue ; but what chiefly distinguished his works is an uninterrupted flow of pathos and sympathy. In the exordium, which has its ground-work in

the utmost simplicity, the orator was at his best: and this versatility of his genius is sufficiently plain, from a consideration of the freedom with which he turns from a discussion of grand and lofty themes to the ordinary subjects of life.

His orations have these qualities to recommend them: — gracefulness, ease and elegance of diction. They are addressed to the heart and to the feelings, in distinction to the works of Bossuet, which were more properly directed to the imagination, and of Bourdaloue, who looked more to the conviction of his hearers by the use of solid arguments.

For longer sketches of the orators the student is referred to Sears' "History of Oratory," Matthews' "Orators and Oratory," M. Barry's "Orators and Elocution," Goodrich's "British Eloquence." As these books are not always at hand it was thought that the preceding brief mention might be welcome to the student.

In the lives of these orators one fact is prominent. The majority reached their success by careful, patient, painstaking labor. To be willing to toil is the secret of excellence. "*Hic opus, hic labor est.*"

For a study of modern, straightforward, simple, clear style, read Demosthenes, Cardinal Newman and John Bright.

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